THE LIFE

Of the Learned and Reverend

Dr PETER HEYLYN,

CHAPLAIN to

Charles I. & *Charles* II.

MONARCHS of

GREAT BRITAIN.

Written by

GEORGE VERNON, Rector of

Bourton on the Water in *Gloucestershire.*

Majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque mala eorum in occulto patitur, Sal. Bell. Jug.

Illum quidem nulla oratio ex animi sententia ledere potest: quippe vera, necesse est vera praedicet; falsam, vita moresque illius superant, ibid.

LONDON:
Printed for *C. H.* and sold by *Edward Vize*, next door but one to *Popes-head-alley*, over against the Royal Exchange in *Cornhil.*
1682.

To the Worthy and my ever Honored Friends,

HENRY HEYLYN

of *Minster-Lovel*, Esq; Nephew;

AND

HENRY HEYLYN

Gentleman, Son, to Dr. *Heylyn*.

I Know no persons in the Nation, that have a more unquestionable right unto these Papers, than you; who have not only running in your Veins the Blood, but, which is more material, abiding in your minds the Endowments of the Great Man, whose *Life* is now perfected and exposed to publick view. In which it must be acknowledged there is sufficient matter for an useful History: And either of you might have named the man, who had been more able to have undertaken

ken the Writing of it than my ſelf; it being a very bold attempt for any one to give an account of the Actions and Sufferings of Dr. *Heylyn*, beſide Dr. *Heylyn*; or at leaſt ſuch an one, who inherits his *Natural*, if not his *Acquired* Accompliſhments, and to whom an *equal*, if not a *double* portion of his Spirit is imparted.

However, 'tis no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, that I have in this Compoſure obey'd your Commands, and in ſome meaſure anſwered your expectations in doing right to the memory of your very learned Anceſtor, if your Friendſhip and Affection did not put a veil upon your Judgments, when you firſt read what I now again offer to your peruſal.

There is little doubt, but in the publication of theſe Papers, the very name of Dr. *Heylyn* will raiſe the Blood, and exaſperate the Paſſions of ſome quarrelſom and unquiet ſpirits, who like Ghoſts and Goblins fight with thoſe that are *dead*, as well as

affrigh-

affright others that are *living*. But whatever hard censures or harder names the Writer of these Papers meets with, 'tis no more than he expects from those who are such enemies unto peace, that notwithstanding all their pleadings for it, yet their souls are so connaturaliz'd to turbulency and contention, that rather than have no enemy, they will fall out and fight with their own shadows. And who can expect but that the peace and quiet of private men should be ruffled and discomposed by those, whose business it is to embroil a whole Nation? And yet these persons must by all means be accounted the *only True Protestants*. A name, tho it imports little in it of the positive part of Christianity (it being only a rejecting or *protesting* against the abominable Errors and Superstitions of the *Roman* Church) yet 'tis too honorable a Title to be bestowed upon many that boast of it.

It was in *April*, 1529. when Reformed Christianity obtained the glorious name of *Protestantism*; which in a short time spread it self not only over the *German* Empire, but most of the *European* Nations. And here in *England* (especially) it prevailed over Popish Darkness and Superstitions by Peaceableness, Meekness, Modesty, Humility, Mercifulness; and by teaching men to be studious of doing good, and averse to vice and doing evil. What right then have those to it, who are Turbulent, Contentious, Malicious, Proud, Mercileſs, Wrathful, *&c?* Why should those be celebrated for zealous *Protestants*, who question the Being, and blaspheme the name of God? Who deny the only Lord that bought them? Who renounce all the Offices and Institutions of Christianity, and whose lives are a direct contradiction to all Moral as well as Evangelical Virtues. In a word, why should the *Independents* with some other Sects now reassume

Sleid. com. l. 6.

assume this Renowned Title, when in the days of the late *Usurper* they absolutely renounced it, calling those, who would not list themselves as members in their Schismatical Assemblies, *Queen Besses Protestants?*

The words of the devout *Salvian* are with a little variation applicable unto these Professors, *In vobis patitur Christus opprobrium, in vobis patitur lex Protestantium maledictum.* The name of *Protestancy* which heretofore commanded veneration from ingenuous (tho professed) enemies, is now prophaned and blasphemed through these persons and stinks amongst *Papists* and *Infidels*: either of which Sects do as much deserve the name of *Catholicks*, as some do that of *Protestants*. When 'tis bestowed on them, 'tis only *Titular*, and a meer *nick-name*. They are *Pseudo-Protestants*, as *Papists* are *Pseudo-Catholicks*. Neither is it material what way of Religion is embraced by them; whether *True* or *False*, *Christian* or *Pagan*, *Protestant* or *Popish*, *any* or *none*, or *all*.

God

God be praised, notwithstanding the great declensions of true Goodness amongst us, we have many persons of Eminency and Honor in the Nation, who are not carried away from their Loyalty to their Prince, and Love to the Church by any popular Artifices of those Zealots who lie in wait to deceive unstable and less discerning minds. Amongst whom I heartily rejoyce that both you are in the number; and I shall pray to God ever to *continue you in that holy Fellowship*, and to preserve you from the evil of this world, whilst you remain in it; as also to reward you for the many charitable and friendly Offices, which you have expressed and conferr'd upon

Gentlemen,

Your most devoted and

for ever faithful Servant,

George Vernon.

TO THE READER.

HAD it not been for the indiscretion of some persons, and the forwardness and ostentation of others, no one had been put to the trouble of reading, or expence of buying a second Impression of Dr. Heylyn's Life; this very Account of it having been writ on purpose to be printed with that learned Volume of his works that has been lately collected and exposed to publick Light: wherein the Reader may reap the benefit of being satisfied in various Points, both Theological and Political. As, 1. In the way and manner of the Reformation of the Church of England; and that both against the Papists who tell us we had too little of the Pope, and too much of the Par-

Parliament; *and against the* Genevizers, *who affirm, that we had too little of the People, and too much of the Prince therein.* 2. *In the sacred Offices of the publick* Liturgy; *wherein is presented to the Reader a* History *of* Liturgies *from the* Patriarchs, Jews, Gentiles *and* Christians; *as also an Account of the* Dedication *of Churches, and the* Anniversary Feasts *occasioned thereby.* 3. *In the Churches* Patrimony, *and the Right of the* Clergy *to receive* Tithes *from the People.* 4. *In her* Government; *wherein both from the sacred Scriptures and Ancient Fathers is evinced by way of* Historical *Narration, (and matter of Fact cannot be so easily evaded as bare Logical Argumentation) the Imparity of Ministers in the Christian Church; the Foundation of which was laid in Episcopacy.* 5. *In the* Time *set apart for Divine Worship; wherein the constant Practice of the Church of God from the Creation to the Year* 1635. *is Learnedly and Laboriously represented in that matter.* 6. *In the* Doctrine *of the*

the Weſtern *Churches, concerning the five Controverted points; an* Hiſtorical *Account of which is given out of the Publick Acts and Monuments, aſwell as the moſt approved Authors in thoſe ſeveral Churches.* 7. *In the Kings* Supreme Dignity *and* Authority *againſt that* Stumbling-block *of Diſobedience and Rebellion, laid by Mr.* Calvin *about the* Ephori *of* Sparta; *the* Tribunes *of* Rome, *and the* Demarchi *of* Athens; *than which Treatiſe few more Rational or Learned have ſeen the light upon that ſubject. And laſtly, in the Biſhops* Right *of* Peerage; *a Treatiſe written in the Year* 1640. *when it was Voted in the Houſe of Lords,* That no Biſhop ſhould be of the Committee for the preparatory Examination of the Earl of *Strafford: this Tract was never before Printed; and as for the reſt that were, they could rarely be met with to be ſold; and thoſe that could, were not to be purchaſed at any ordinary or eaſie rates. And there is no Reaſon, but that the old Books (Learned and uſeful as they are) reprinted,*

ſhould

ſhould meet with as kind reception from the World, as new Books compoſed with leſs judgment out of old ones; unleſs it be that ſome finical Readers will have their fancies gratified by the novelty of a Title Page, even like ſome Ladies that are always affecting new Modes and Faſhions in their Garbs and Garments: And there are Botchers in Books as well as Cloaths, that have the knack to make new ones out of old ones.

I ſhall not attempt to particularize or rectifie either the miſtakes or omiſſions, that are in the Life, *as it ſtands before the collected Treatiſes now ſpecified. The Reader may eaſily diſcern both, by comparing what is there writ, with the Memorials now publiſhed. In which, I have made uſe of no materials out of the Printed* Folio, *except theſe two,* viz. *The charitable zeal which the* Doctor *exerted in ſaving the Pariſh-Church of St.* Nicholas *in* Abingdon *from being laid even with the ground, and the Dream that he had immediately before his fatal Sickneſs; neither of which came unto my*

knowledg

knowledg before I met with them before the Collection, *And I hope he that favoured the World with the publication of them will pardon my presumption; since what I have made use of, tends to the adorning of the memory of so near a Relation; and since also many more particular passages were excerpted out of my Papers (the very words as well as matter) when he had them in his Custody; as any Reader may easily discern, who will be at the pains of comparing the Life now Published, with what is extant before the* Keimelia Ecclesiastica.

The truth is, though I did with some unwillingness and regret undertake the writing of what is here offered to the World, yet I was the more easily induced to it, not only out of Reverence to the memory of a right Learned man, and the honour that I owe to some of his nearest Relatives; but also from those black Clouds of darkness, which have of late threatned our publick Peace and Common Interests; deeming that it would be beneficial unto my self, and not unacceptable

table unto Loyal English-men (*especially those of the Clergy*) *if their minds were fortified with Courage and Resolution to suffer and submit unto the Will of God in the times that might happen, by calling to remembrance what others have done in the days that are past. For God does not only* know the Frame *of our Bodies, that they are* dust, *but the temper of our minds,* viz. *how averse they are to exercise patience under heavy Persecutions, and how unable to contend with the infelicity of an unrighteous World, unless he did now and then represent unto our view some fresh example of his righteous servants, who by their faith and patience, have beat out a path and made the way plain before us. And whoever reads over the following Account given of Dr.* Heylyn, *will find few of his Quality and Profession, who survived the fury of that storm that was raised in the Unnatural War, and who brought their Vessel to safe shore and landing at the last, that endured more numerous and violent* Hurricanes, *than he did. And*

what

what can be more ſeaſonable or advantageous againſt that λιποψυμία, *that languiſhing and faintneſs of ſpirit which may poſſibly ſeize on us under the Croſs, than that being in a tendency to endure and encounter with the like hardſhips, we ſhould arm our ſelves with the ſame Reſolution of mind, as the perſon did, treated of in theſe papers? Perhaps the perſecutions that are here mentioned are not of ſo wide an extent, as to furniſh any one with a* Panoplie *againſt all the Evils, that this inconſtant World may bring upon us, But although they may not in all reſpects parallel thoſe ſufferings which may be our Portion and Lot, yet they may be of that efficacy to mind us of our duty; and to prepare us for the viciſſitudes of Providence, that whenever our* Fiery Tryal *comes, we may not think it* ſtrange *or unuſual; but by ſome preparatory exerciſes of Piety and ſelf-denial we may be mortifying in our ſelves all that ſoftneſs, tenderneſs and effeminacy of temper, which will render Affliction grievous and intollearable to us. The*

bleſſed

blessed Apostle acquaints us what good effect his passive fortitude produced in some new Converts to Christianity, when they became possessed of the very same zeal and constancy as he had; for waxing confident by his bonds, they were much more bold to speak the word without fear, *Phil.* 1. 14. *God be praised, as yet we have no sharper persecutions to exercise our Christian Vertues, than what have befallen the holiest Christians in the most flourishing Condition of the Church. The Sun shines upon our Tabernacles, and notwithstanding all the outcries about* Property *and* Liberty, *yet there is no such irruption into either, as to occasion* complaining in our streets. *But we know not how soon our Fate may be the same with Dr.* Heylyn's; *to be brought before the* Rulers of the darkness of this World *for the sake of the Christian Righteousness. And whenever 'tis our lot, it concerns us to behave our selves with that Faith and Courage, that we neither violate the Oaths we have taken; nor disgrace the Religion we profess,*

nor

nor forfeit the happineſs we hope for and expect. We ſee with our eyes, or hear with our ears, with what reſolution men ſuffer for evil doing. And if a natural Sturdineſs or Fool-hardineſs does ſuſtain the ſpirits of men againſt the Terrors of a violent Death, notwithſtanding thoſe black guilts of Schiſm, Faction, Sedition, Treaſon, Murther, &c. *which lye upon their conſciences; What a diſgrace will it be unto our profeſſion, for us to be* weary and faint in our minds, *when any external evils or dangers make diſquieting impreſſions on them? And there is no better way for us to prevent that diſhonour, than by* looking unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, and by taking thoſe who have ſpoken in his Name for an example of ſuffering Affliction and of Patience, *Jam.* 5. 10.

But although Dr. Heylyn ſpoke in Name of the Lord, *yet few will be prevailed with to take him for a pattern in ſuffering perſecution, who believe thoſe black Characters, that have been of late given him by ſome of the Writers of this*

 pre-

present Age. And amongst the rest, 'tis matter of just wonder that Mr. Baxter, *who writes so frequently of Death and Judgment, and the account that must be given of all the* hard speeches *that are either spoke or writ against his Fellow-Christians, should not be desirous to leave the troublesome stage of this world in a peaceable and calm temper, and let those sleep quietly in their Graves, whom he* * wish'd he had let alone, *when alive; and unto whose learned labors he has not vouchsafed to return one word of Answer for above these two and twenty years. And yet so it is, that in his* Preface *to the* Abridgment *of Church-History he represents Dr.* Heylyn *to be a man of* a malicious and bloody strain, *and one who* spake of blood with pleasure, thirsting after more, *&c. I shall say little of that Book of Mr.* Baxters, *understanding that it is taken into consideration by another hand. But this I will not be afraid to affirm, that if an impartial Pagan were to pass his*

* So he did in a Letter to Dr. *Heylyn.*

his judgment upon Christianity from those matters of Fact, that are recorded in the Abridgment; *he would look upon it with a more uncharitable eye than Mr.* Baxter *does upon Dr.* Heylyn; *and conclude it the most horrid Imposture in the world. For what kind of Religion and Church was that, which had little or nothing but Covetousness, Ambition, Oppression, Simony, Anarchy, Tyranny, Cruelty,* &c. *prevailing in it for so many centuries of years, and no persons or conventions of men that had Wisdom and Power all that while to manage its affairs and concerns, and to put it into any Apostolical or tolerable Order, till an* Army-Black-Coat, *who first almost dreined his Veins of their Blood against his Prince, and then courted and caress'd a Tyrant and Usurper; and since that time has been employing his Spleen against the Church; I say, till such an one arose in the world, and in affront to all the laws of Modesty and good Manners, first prescribed a Platform of Civil Polity or* Holy-Commonwealth *to the State, and then Rules of Government*

or Polity to the Church, which should bind all Christians, and be a Standard to all Superiors? Let but any one seriously peruse the Abridgment, *and then judg, whether* Herod *endeavoured with more malice to suppress the Genealogies of the* Jewish *Nation (and especially those of the Royal Family) that he himself might reign with more security, than Mr.* Baxter *has done, in throwing dirt upon Antiquity: whereas a Divine, of all men in the World ought to be very tender, how he exposed the Nakedness of the Ancient Fathers, lest he thereby exposed Christianity it self to scorn and contempt. And we do not live in such an Age of piety and modesty, but that some men would be very glad from the* Abridgment *(if they had patience to read it) to fix the like Infamy upon the Christian Faith, as* Cham *did when he proclaimed the Nakedness of his Aged Father.*

For my own part I never had the Honour either to know Dr. Heylyn, *or to be known by him. But those who were his Familiars represent him to be one of a*

tender

tender compassionate Spirit, and that few men put a more candid construction upon Persons and Actions, than he did. 'Tis true, he writ of a bloody Sect; but with a purpose to prevent the shedding of more Blood. He vindicated the Monarchy *and* Hierarchy *from the Calumnies of that Faction, that was and is the implacable and sworn enemy of both. And for this the Ashes of his Grave must be disturbed by one, who (as* Tullie *speaks)* does not consider but cast Lots in writing Books, *and whose voluminous Treatises are no more to be compared with the Learned Writers of this Church, than the stuff of* Kiderminster *is to be valued at the same rate with the best* Arras.

Dr. Heylyn *was no more a Man of Blood, than St.* Paul *was a* Mover of Sedition. *And if he had, 'tis to be hoped, he might have been as well Canonized for fighting for his Prince, as some others are celebrated for* Saints *in the* Everlasting Rest, *who died in the very Act of Rebellion against him. But 'tis no new thing for those who cut a purse, to cry stop the Thief.*

Mr. Baxter *may be pleased to call to mind, what was done to one Major* Jenning *the last War, in that Fight that was between* Lynsel *and* Longford *in the County of* Salop; *where the Kings Party having unfortunately the worst of the day, the poor Major was stript almost naked and left for dead in the Field. But Mr.* Baxter *and one Lieutenant* Hurdman *taking their walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceived some Life left in the Major, and* Hurdman *run him through the Body in cold blood; Mr.* Baxter *all the while looking on, and taking off with his own hand the Kings Picture from about his Neck; telling him, as he was swimming in his gore, That* he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix. *Which Picture was kept by Mr.* Baxter *for many years, till it was got from him (but not without much difficulty) by one Mr.* Summerfield, *who then lived with Sir* Thomas Rouse, *and generously restored it to the poor man, now alive at* Wick *near* Parshore *in* Worcestershire, *although at the Fight supposed*

posed to be dead; being, after the wounds given him, dragg'd up and down the Field by the merciless Soldiers, Mr. Baxter *approving of the Inhumanity, by feeding his eyes with so bloody and barbarous a spectacle.*

I *Thomas Jennings* subscribe to the truth of this Narrative above mentioned, and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, this second day of *March* 168½.

Tho. Jennings.

Signed and Sealed, March 2. 168½.
in the Presence of

John Clarke *Minister of* Wick,
Thomas Darke.

And now let it be left to the Readers Judgment, who is of a more malicious and bloody strain, *Dr.* Heylyn *or Mr.* Baxter. *Whatever ill opinion the Doctor gained in the World, was for the service which he did for his King, his Country and the Church. And it need not be*

told

told who says, Nemo pluris æstimat virtutem, quam qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet; *i.e. He puts the best value upon virtue, who to preserve the Integrity and Peace of his Conscience sacrifices the endearments of his Reputation.*

ERRATA *in the Preface.*

PAge 3. line penult, dele *the*, p.7. l.antep. for *tender*, r. *tenderness*.

In the Life.

Page 41.l.23.r.*Bounty designed and Mr.*—p. 60. l.3. r. *Geneva*, p.92.l.12.for *Jury*, r. *Quire*, p.100.l.16. r. *Reader*, p.118. l.ult. r. *Rallery*, p.119. l. 12. r. *some few others*,—p.125.l.16.r.*Bodmin*, p.137.l.16. r.*ejecting*, p.169.r.*Warrant*, p.220.l.1.for *in*, r. *upon*, p.249. l.12. for *that*,r.*may pass*—p.262.l.15.dele *and*,& r.*God Almighties wise*—p.263.l.9.r.*man*, for *men*, p.268.l.11. for *acutum*,r.*oculatum*,p.169.l.23.for *lips*,r.*lusts*, p.287. l.13. for *partialis*,r.*Paritatis*.

Learned *Peter Heylyn*, D. D. Now collected into one Volume: 1. *Ecclesia Vindicata*, or the Church of *England* justified. 2. The History of the Sabbath: in two parts. 3. *Historia Quinquarticularis*, 4. The Stumbling-Block of Disobedience and Rebellion. 5. A Treatise *De Jure Paritatis Episcoporum*, with an exact Table to the whole.

All the Statutes at large, to the Year 1681. By *Keeble*; with an exact Table to the whole: being the last Impression.

The Lord *Cokes* Eleven Reports in English, with a Table. Printed 1680.

The Lord *Cokes* Institutes, the three last Parts. Printed 1680.

The Lord *Hobart*'s Reports, with Additions in English. Printed 1678.

There is now in the Press, Bishop *Usher*'s Power of the Prince, and Obedience of the Subject; with Bishop *Sanderson*'s Preface to it: and will be Published speedily. Printed for *Charles Harper*.

THE LIFE OF Dr. *Peter Heylyn.*

IF any Augury or Conjecture could be made of the Course and Fortune of Mens Lives by the Calculation of their Nativity, the Birth of Dr. *Peter Heylyn*, according to the Rules of our Astrologers, presaged firm Constitution of Body, and prosperous Success in the Civil Affairs of Humane Life. For it was *Novemb.* 29. 1599. at *Burford*, in the County of *Oxon*, between Eight and Nine in the Morning. At which time the Sun

was in the *Horoſcope* of his Nativity, and the *Houſes* very well diſpoſed. But our *Almanack* Prognoſtications about Weather, *&c.* ſhew what inconſiderable Influence the Stars have upon the inanimate part of the Creation, much leſs upon free and diſcerning Agents; eſpecially upon men Wiſe and Learned: For Wiſdom has an Empire over Stars and Conſtellations, according to that Adagy,

Ἄπτωτα δῶλα τῷ φρονεῖν καθίστανται.

And this Reverend Man was in this particular fortunate, that he had the honor to carry the mark of the Croſs, which was imprinted on him at the Font, through the moſt conſiderable part of his Pilgrimage; having frequent opportunities in Suffering for a Righteous Cauſe, to manifeſt his Paſſive, as well as his Active Courage; as will ſufficiently appear in the ſubſequent Circumſtances and Account of his Life.

He

He was the ſecond Son of *Henry Heylyn*, Gentleman, deſcended from the Antient Family of the *Heylyns* of *Pentre-Heylyn* in *Montgomery-ſhire*; then part of *Powes-land*; from the Princes whereof they were derived, and unto whom they were Hereditary *Cup-Bearers*: For ſo the word *Heylyn* doth ſignifie in the *Welſh* or *Britiſh* Language. After which Office, they were in great Authority with the Princes of *North-Wales*; as plainly appears from *Llewellyn*, the laſt Prince of that Country, who made choice of *Grono-Ap-Heylyn* to Treat with the Commiſſioners of *Edward* the Firſt, King of *England*, for the Concluding of a full and final Peace between them. And *Pentre-Heylyn* continued the Seat of this Antient Family till about the Year 1637. at which time *Rowland Heylyn*, Alderman and Sheriff of *London*, and Couſin-German to our Doctors Father, dying without Iſſue-Male, the Seat was transferred to another Family, into which ſome of the Heireſ-

ſes were Married: But the Doctor deſign'd to repurchaſe it, and had infallibly effected it, had not Death prevented the Execution of his Purpoſe.

His Mother was *Elizabeth Clampard*, Daughter of *Francis Clampard* of *Wrotham* in *Kent*, Gentleman, and of *Mary Dodge* his Wife; Deſcended in a direct Line from that *Peter Dodge* of *Stopworth* in *Cheſhire*, unto whom King *Edward* the Firſt gave the *Seigneury* or Lordſhip of *Padenhugh* in the Barony of *Coldingham* in the Realm of *Scotland*, as well for the eſpecial Services done by him in the Sieges of *Barwick* and *Dunbar*, as his Valour ſhew'd in divers Battels; *Encontre ſon grand Enemy & Rebelle le Baillol Roy d'Eſcoce & Vaſſal d'Angleterre*, as the words are in the Original Charter of Arms, given to the ſaid *Peter Dodge* by *Guyen* King of *Arms* at the ſaid Kings Command, dated *April* 8. in the 34th. year of King *Edward* the Firſt. Neither is this unworthy of obſervation, that one of the Deſcendents from the ſaid *Peter*

Dodge

Dodge was Uncle to Doctor *Heylyn's* Mother, and gave the *Mannor* of *Lechlade* in *Glocestershire*, worth 1400*l.* *per ann.* to *Robert Bathurst* Esq; Uncle to our Reverend Doctor, and Grand-Father to that honest and modest Gentleman Sir *Edward Bathurst* Baronet, now living.

In the sixth year of his Age, he was committed to the Tuition of Master *North*, School-Master of *Burford*; under whose Instructions he so well profited, that in a short time he was able to make true *Latine*: and his Improvements were so very considerable, that in a little space after he was advanc'd a Form higher than his Fellows; with which he kept pace and arrived to the ability of making Verses: to which excellency, together with History, his *Genius* did so naturally incline him, that at the Age of ten years he framed a Story in Verse and Prose upon a ludicrous Subject, of which he himself was Spectator. And he Composed it in imitation of the *History of the Destructi-*

on of Troy, and ſome other Books of Chivalry, upon which he was then very ſtudious and intent. The Story was exceedingly prized by his School-Fellows, and afterward by one Maſter *Hinton*, Fellow of *Merton-College*, unto whom it was communicated by his Father. And I preſume to ſpecifie it as an Argument of the prodigious pregnancy of thoſe Endowments which God had beſtowed upon him. For he may truly be accounted one of the *Præcoces Fructus*, the forward Fruits of his time, that was ſoon ripe, and contrary to the Proverb, of a laſting duration. It may be truly affirmed of him, as once of *Lipſius*, *Ingenium habuit docile, & omnium capax: Memoria non ſine præceptorum miraculo (etiam in puero) quæ ſenectute non defecit.*

But his proficiency in Letters was very much retarded by a Diſtemper that ſeized on his Head; the Cure of which was not effected under the ſpace of two years; and therefore occaſion'd great

great loſs of time, as well as infinite pain and torture of Body to one ſo young and tender. For by reaſon of the unskilfulneſs of Country Empericks who firſt undertook him, the Fleſh in the fore-part of his Head rotted to the Skull, where never any Hair came afterward. And the Diſtemper again returning upon him as the Fleſh grew up, he was in the 13th. year of his Age ſent to *London* by his Father, to be under the Cure of Dr. *Turner* (Huſband to that Gentlewoman that had a hand in the Death of Sir *Tho. Overbury*) who keeping him to a ſtrict Diet and frequent Sweatings, ſent him back into the Country after four Months time. But his Diſtemper again returning, he was fain once more to apply himſelf unto his old Doctor, before a Cure could be completed.

Upon his return to *Burford*, he found his old Maſter dead, and was committed to the Care of a Succeſſor, *viz*, Mr. *Davis*, a Reverend good man; who notwithſtanding his long diſcon-

tinuance from School, found his Scholar not to have mis-spent or mis-employed any time, that gave him the least Relaxation from his Distemper, and therefore placed him *Third* in the uppermost Form. Mr. *Davis* spared no diligence that might tend to the cultivating of a Plant so flourishing and hopeful, making him fit for the University by having him but twelve Months under his Tuition: A kindness so gratefully resented by our Doctor, that he dedicated to him one of his Books, called *Ecclesia Vindicata*; and had it not been for the misfortune of the War, had given better Testimonies of a thankful and generous mind in preferring him to some considerable Benefice or Dignity in the Church.

He was the beginning of *December*, 1613. in the 14th. year of his Age sent to *Oxford*, and placed under the Tuition of Mr. *Joseph Hill*, an antient Batchelor in Divinity, once one of the Fellows of *Corpus Christi College*, but then Commoner of *Hart-Hall*; by whom

whom Mr. *Walter Newberry* (afterward a zealous Puritan) was made choice of to instruct him in *Logick*, and other Academical Studies, as far as the tenderness of his Age rendred him capable. And he made such progress in them, that upon the 22d. of *July*, 1614. he stood Candidate for a *Demies* place in *Magdalen College*, having no other Recommendations than Sir *John Walters*, then *Attorney General* to the Prince, and afterward Lord Chief *Baron* of the *Exchequer*, Grand-Father to that worthy Gentleman Sir *William Walter* now of *Sarsden* in the County of *Oxford*, Baronet. Dr. *Langton*, President of the College, put Mr. *Heylyn* the *Eighth* upon the Roll; which was the first place of the second Course; but it succeeded not till the year following, being then Elected *First* upon the Roll, and having very much endeared himself to the President and Fellows by a facetious *Latine* Poem upon a Journey that he made with his two Tutors, unto *Woodstock*.

But

But immediately after his admission into that noble Foundation, he fell into a Consumption, which constrained him to retire to his Native Air, where he continued till *Christmas* following. He was a year after his Admission made *Impositor* of the Hall; in which Office he acquitted himself with so much Fidelity, that the College Dean continued him longer in it, than any ever before; by which means he contracted a great deal of Hatred and Enmity from those Students that were of his own standing, being called by them the *Perpetual Dictator*. But he diverted the violence of the Storm by the assiduity of his Studies, and particularly by Composing an *English* Tragedy, called *Spurius*; which was so well approved of by some learned persons of that Foundation, that the *President* caused it to be privately acted in his own Lodgings.

In *July* 1617. he obtained his *Grace* for the degree of *Batchelor of Arts*, but was not Presented to it till the *October* fol-

following, by reason of the absence of one of his *Seniors*, holding it unworthy to prejudice another person for his own Advancement. After the performance of the *Lent*-Exercises for his Degree, he fell into a Fever, which increasing with great violence, at last turned into a *Tertian* Ague, and caused him again to retreat unto his Countrey Air; which he enjoyed till the middle of *July* following, and then according to the *College* Statutes (which require that Exercise to be performed every long Vacation by some *Batchelor* of Arts) he began his *Cosmographical* Lectures, and finished them in the end of the next *August*. His Reading of those Lectures drew the whole Society into a profound admiration of his Learning and Abilities; insomuch that before he had ended them, he was admitted Fellow upon *Probation*, in the place of one Mr. *Love*. And that he might give a Testimony of his grateful mind for so unexpected a Favour, he writ a *Latine* Comedy, call'd *Theo-*

Theomachia, which he Composed and Transcribed in a Fortnights space. On *July* 29. 1619. he was admitted *in verum & perpetuum Socium*; and not long before was made *Moderator* of the *Senior* Form, which he retained above two years: And within that compass of time he began to write his *Geography*, accordingly as he designed when he Read his *Cosmographic*-Lectures; which Book he finish'd in little more than two months, beginning it *Feb.* 22. and completing it the 29th. of *April* following. At the *Act*, *Ann. Dom*, 1620, he was admitted *Master of Arts*; the honor of which Degree was the more remarkable, because that very year the Earl of *Pembroke*, Chancellor of the University, signified his pleasure by special Letters, that from that time forward, the *Masters of Arts*, who before sate bare, should wear their Caps in all *Congregations* and *Convocations*; unto which Act of Grace his Lordship was induced by an humble Petition presented to him by the *Regent Masters*,

Masters in behalf of themselves and *Non-Regents*; as also by Dr. *Prideaux* then *Vice-Chancellor*, who being preacquainted with the business, gave great encouragement to proceed onward in it; and lastly by the indefatigable pains of one Master *Clopton, junior*, of *Corpus-Christi-Colledge*, who was the principal Solicitor in that Affair.

His *Geography* was committed by him to the perusal of some Learned Friends, and being by them well approved, he obtained his Fathers consent for the Printing of it; which was done accordingly, *November* 7. 1621. The first Copy of it was presented by him to King *Charles* the First, then Prince of *Wales*, unto whom he Dedicated it; and by whom, together with its Author, it was very graciously received; being introduced into the Princes Presence by Sir *Robert Carre*, one of the Gentlemen of his Highnesses Bed-Chamber, and since Earl of *Ancram*; unto whose Care

Ma-

Maſter *Heylyn* was commended by the Lord *Danvers*, then at *Cornbury* by reaſon of ſome bodily Indiſpoſition. But after this Sun-ſhine of Favour and Honor darted on him by the Prince, there followed a Cloud which darkened all his Joys: for in a few months after, his Father died at *Oxon* with an Ulcer in his Bladder, occaſioned by the Stone, with which he had been for many years grievouſly afflicted: His Body was conveyed to *Lechlade* in *Glocesterſhire*, where he was buried near his Wife, who died ſix years before him of a Contagious Fever, and lay in the Chancel of that Pariſh-Church.

Septemb. 15. 1622. he received *Confirmation* from the hands of Biſhop *Lake*, in the Pariſh Church of *Wells*; and in a ſhort ſpace after exhibited a *Certificate* to Doctor *Langton* concerning his Age; by which means he obtained a *Diſpenſation*, notwithſtanding any Local Statutes to the contrary, that he ſhould not be compelled to enter

enter into *Holy Orders* till he was Twenty four years of Age, according to the time appointed, both in the *Canons* of the Church, and the *Statutes* of the Realm. And ſuch were his fears to enter upon the Study, as well as undertake the profeſſion of Divinity, that it was not without great Reluctance and Difficulty on his own part, as well as many weighty Arguments and Perſuaſions of a very Learned and Reverend perſon (Mr. *Buckner*) that he applied himſelf unto *Theology*. Thus *Moſes* pleaded his Inability, and notwithſtanding the expreſs command of the Almighty, refuſed to be ſent upon the Divine Embaſſie, perſevering in his unſeaſonable modeſty, till God threatned him with his Anger, as he had before encouraged him with his promiſes. But as the difficulties in Divinity made Mr. *Heylyn* for ſome time to deſiſt, ſo the ſweetneſs and amabilities of that Study allured him to undertake the Profeſſion. And therefore he received the *Orders* of *Deacon* and

Prieſt

Priest (but at distant times) in St. *Aldates* Church in *Oxon* from the Right Reverend Bishop *Howson*. And when he was Ordained *Priest*, he Preach'd the Ordination Sermon upon those words of our Blessed Saviour to St. *Peter*, Luke 22. 32. *And when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren.* What course and method he observed in his Theological Studies, he tells of with his own Pen; "When "I began my Studies in "Divinity, I thought no "course so proper and expedient for "me, as the way commended by King "*James* (*which was, that young Students in Divinity should be excited to study such Books as were most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of* England, *and to bestow their time in the Fathers and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them the grounds of*

Theol. Vet. Pref. to the Reader.

K. *James* Instructions to the University, *Jan.* 18. 1616.

of their Study) " and opened at the " charges of Bishop *Montague*, though " not then a Bishop. For though I had " a good respect to the memory of *Luther*, and the name of *Calvin*, as " those whose Writings had awakened " all these parts of *Europe* out of the ig- " norance and superstition in which they " suffered, yet I always took them to be " men: men as obnoxious unto Error, " as subject to humane Frailty, and as " indulgent too unto their own Opini- " ons, as any others whatsoever. The " little knowledge I had gained in the " course of Stories, had pre-acquainted " me with the *Fiery Spirit* of the one, and " the *Buste Humor* of the other; thought " thereupon unfit by Arch-Bishop " *Cranmer* and others, the chief Agents " in the *Reformation* of this Church, to " be employed as Instruments in that " weighty Business. Nor was I igno- " rant how much they differed fsom us " in their *Doctrinals* and Forms of Go- " vernment. And I was apt enough to " think, that they were no fit *Guides*

" to direct my Judgment in order to
" the *Discipline* and *Doctrine* of the
" Church of *England*; to the establish-
" ing whereof they were held unuse-
" ful; and who both by their *Practi-*
" *ces* and *Positions* had declared them-
" selves Friends to neither.

The *Geography* was in less than three years Re-printed; and in this second Edition Enlarged and again Presented by him to the Prince of *Wales*, and by him received with most affectionate Commendations of the Author. But it met with a far different entertainment from K. *James*. For the Book being put into the hands of that learned Monarch by Dr. *Young* Dean of *Winton* (who thereby designed nothing else but the highest kindness to Mr. *Heylyn*) the King at first expressed the great Value he had for the Author: but unfortunately falling on a passage, wherein Mr. *Heylyn* gave Precedency to the *French* King, and called *France the more Famous Kingdom*, King *James* became very much offended, and ordered the

Lord

Lord *Keeper* that the Book ſhould be call'd in. The good *Dean* gave notice to Mr. *Heylyn* of his Majeſties Diſpleaſure, adviſing him to repair to *Court*, and to make uſe of the Princes Patronage, as the beſt lenitive to prevent the rankling of this wound, leſt it feſtered and became incurable. But he rather choſe to abide at *Oxon*, acquainting the Lord *Danvers* with the buſineſs, and requeſting his Advice and Interceſſion, and ſending afterward an Apology and Explanation of his meaning to Doctor *Young*, the ſubſtance of which was, " That ſome crimes are of a nature ſo " unjuſtifiable, that they are improved " by an Apology; yet conſidering the " purpoſe he had in thoſe places, which " gave offence to his Sacred Majeſty, " he was unwilling that his Innocence " ſhould be condemn'd for want of an " Advocate: The burthen under " which he ſuffered was rather a mi- " ſtake than a crime, and that miſtake " not his own, but the Printers. For if " in the firſt line of *page* 441. *was* be

" read instead of *is*, the sense runs as
" he design'd it: And this appears from
" the words immediately following;
" for by them may be gathered the
" sense of this corrected reading, *When* Edward *the Third quartered the Arms of* France *and* England, *he gave Precedency to the French*; *first, because* France *was the greater and more famous Kingdom. Secondly, That the French*, &c. " These Reasons are to be
" referr'd to the time of that King, by
"whom those Arms were first quartered
" with the Arms of *England*, and who
" desired by this honor done unto their
" Arms to gain upon the good opinion
" of that Nation, for the Crown and
" Love whereof he was a Suitor. For
" at this time (besides that it may seem
" ridiculous to use a Verb of the pre-
" sent Tense in a matter done so long
" ago) that Reason is not of the least
" force or consequence; the French ha-
" ving so long since forgot the Rights
" of *England*, and our late Princes claim-
" ing nothing but the Title only.

" The

"The place and passage so corre-
"ected, I hope (says Mr. *Heylyn*) I may
"without detraction from the Glory
"of this Nation affirm, That *France* was
"at this time the more famous King-
"dom. Our *English* Swords for more
"than half the time since the *Norman*
"Conquest had been turned against
"our own Bosoms; and the Wars we
"then made (except some fortunate
"Excursions of King *Edward* the First
"in *France*, and King *Richard* in the
"*Holy Land*) in my conceit were ful-
"ler of Pity than of Honor. For what
"was our Kingdom under the Reign of
"*Edward* the Second, *Henry* the
"Third, *John*, *Stephen* and *Rufus* but
"a publick Theatre, on which the Tra-
"gedies of Blood and civil Dissentions
"had been continually acted? On the
"other side, the *French* had exercised
"their Arms with Credit and Renown
"both in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*;
"and had much added to the Glory of
"their Name and Nation by Conquer-
"ing the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Si-*

" *cily*, and driving the *English* them-
" ſelves out of all *France*, *Guyen* only
" excepted. If we look higher, we ſhall
" find *France* to be the firſt Seat of the
" *Weſtern* Empire, and the Forces of it
" to be known and felt by the *Saracens*
" in *Spain*, the *Saxons* in *Germany*, and
" the *Lombards* in *Italy*; at which time
" the Valour of the *Engliſh* was impri-
" ſoned in the ſame Seas with their
" Iſland: And therefore *France* was at
" that time, when firſt the Arms were
" quartered, the more famous King-
" dom. 'Tis true indeed, ſince the time
" of thoſe victorious Princes, thoſe
" *Duo Fulmina Belli*, *Edward* the Third
" and the *Black Prince* his Son, the
" Arms of *England* have been exerci-
" ſed in moſt parts of *Europe*. Nor am
" I ignorant how high we ſtand above
" *France* and all other Nations in the
" true fame of our Atchievements.
" *France* it ſelf divers times over-run,
" and once Conquered, the Houſe of
" *Burgundy* upheld from Ruine, the
" *Hollanders* Supported, *Spain* Awed
and

"and the *Ocean* Commanded, are suf-
"ficient testimonies, that in pursuit of
"Fame and Honor, we had no Equals.
"That I was always of this opinion my
"Book speaks for me (and indeed so
"unworthy a person needs no better
"an Advocate) in which I have been
"no where wanting to commit to me-
"mory the honorable performances of
"my Countrey. The great *Annalist*
"*Baronius* pretending only a true and
"sincere History of the Church, yet
"tells the *Pope* in his Epistle Dedicato-
"ry, that he principally did intend
"that work, *pro Sacrarum Traditionum*
"*Antiquitate, & Authoritate Romanæ*
"*Ecclesiæ*. The like may I say of my
"self, though not with like imputation
"of Imposture. I promised a Descri-
"ption of all the World, and have ac-
"cording to the measure of my poor
"Abilities fully performed it: yet
"have I apprehended withal every mo-
"dest occasion of enobling and extol-
"ling the Soldiers and Kings of *Eng-*
"*land*. Besides that I do not now speak

" of *England* as it now ſtands aug-
" mented with, by the happy Additi-
" on of *Scotland*, I had had it from an
" Author, whom in poverty of read-
" ing I conceived above all exception,
" *viz. Cambden Clarencieux*, that gene-
" ral and accompliſh'd Scholar in the
" fifth part of his *Remains*, had ſo in-
" formed me. If there be error in it,
" 'tis not mine but my Authors. The
" Precedency which he there ſpeaks of
" is in *General Councils*. And I do hear-
" tily wiſh it would pleaſe the Lord to
" give ſuch a ſudden Bleſſing to his
" Church, that I might live to ſee Mr.
" *Cambden* Confuted by ſo good an Ar-
" gument as the ſitting of a *General*
" *Council*.

Thus Mr. *Heylyn* was the interpreter of his own words; and by theſe demonſtrations of his integrity, King *James*'s indignation was appeaſed, and his own fears were ended: Only he took care to have theſe offenſive words blotted out of his Book, as the Dean of *Winton* adviſed him.

In

In the year 1625. he took a Journey with Mr. *Levet* of *Lincolns-Inn* into *France*, where he visited more Cities, and made more Observations in the space of five weeks (for he staid there no longer) than many others have done in so many years. The particulars of this Journey he put in Writing, and some years after gratified his Countrey with the Publication of it, together with some other very excellent Remarks made by him, when he attended upon the Earl of *Danby* to the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, *Anno Dom.* 1628. Had King *James* lived to have perused that Book, Mr. *Heylyn* had needed no other Advocate to have restored him to his Princely Favour and Protection. For never was the Vanity and Levity of the *Monsieurs*, and the Deformity and Sluttishness of their *Madames* more ingeniously exposed both in Prose and Verse, than in the Account that he gives of his Voyage into *France*.

On

On *April* 18. 1627. he opposed in the *Divinity-School*, and the 24th. day following he answered *pro Forma* upon these two Questions, *viz.*

An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?
An Ecclesia possit errare?

Both which he determined in the *Negative*: And in stating of the first, he fell upon a different way from that of Doctor *Prideaux* in his Lecture *de Visibilitate Ecclesiæ*, and other Tractates of and about that time; in which the visibility of the Protestant Church (and consequently of the Renowned Church of *England*) was no otherwise proved, than by looking for it into the scattered Conventicles of the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Waldenses* in *France*, the *Wickliffs* in *England*, and the *Hussites* in *Bohemia*; which manner of proceeding not being liked by Mr. *Heylyn*, because it utterly discontinued that Succession

Appendix to the *Adv.* on Mr. *Sanderson*'s Histories.

cession in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, which the Church of *England* claims from the Apostles; he rather chose to look for a continual Visible Church in *Asia*, *Æthiopia*, *Greece*, *Italy*, yea and *Rome* it self; as also in all the *Western* Provinces then subject to the power of the Popes thereof: And for the proof whereof he shewed, 1. That the Church of *England* received no Succession of Doctrine or Government from any of the scattered *Conventicles* before remembred. 2. That the *Wicklifes*, together with the rest (before remembred) held many *Heterodoxies* in Religion, as different from the Establish'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as any point that was maintained at that time in the Church of *Rome*. And 3. That the Learned Writers of that Church, and *Bellarmin* himself among them have stood up as cordially and stoutly in maintenance of some Fundamental points of the Christian Faith against *Socinians*, *Anabaptists* and *Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Hereticks of

of these Ages, as any of the Divines and other Learned men of the Protestant Churches; which point Mr. *Heylyn* closed with these words; *viz. Utinam quod ipse de Calvino, sic semper erraſſet nobiliſſimus Cardinalis.* And this so much displeased the *Doctor of the Chair*, that so soon as our young Divine had ended his *Determination*, he fell most heavily upon him, calling him by the most odious names of *Papicola, Bellarminianus, Pontificius*, &c. bitterly complaining to the younger part of his Audients (unto whom he made the greatest part of his Addresses) of the unprofitable pains he had took amongst them, if *Bellarmin*, whom he had laboured to decry for so many years, should now be honored with the Title of *Nobiliſſimus*. The like he did within a few days after (*Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?*) when the *Respondent* became *prior Opponent*, loading him with so many Reproaches, that he was branded for a *Papist* before he understood what Popery was. And because this

this Report ſhould not prepoſſeſs the minds of ſome great Perſons, the *Diſputant* went to *London*; and after the Lord *Chamberlain* had ordered him to Preach before the Kings Houſhold, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, took notice of the paſſages that had happened at *Oxford*. But Mr. *Heylyn* told him the ſtory at large, and for a farther teſtimony of his Judgment and Innocency, gave him a Copy of his *Suppoſition*; which, when it was peruſed, the *Diſputant* waited on him, and his Lordſhip made him to ſit down by him, and after enquiry made into the courſe of his Studies, told him, "That his *Suppoſition* was ſtrongly "grounded, and not to be over-thrown "in a fair way of Scholaſtick Argu-"ing, That he would not have him be "diſcouraged by noiſe and clamour. "That he himſelf had in his younger "days maintained the ſame *Poſitions* in "Diſputation in St. *Johns College*, for "which he was much blamed by Arch-"Biſhop *Abbot*, then Vice-Chancellor, "and

" and made a *By-word* and *Reproach* in " the Univerſity. Finally he exhorted " him to continue in that moderate " courſe, telling him, That as God had " given him more than ordinary Gifts, " ſo he would pray to God that he " might employ them in ſuch a way " and manner, as might make up the " Breaches in the Walls of Chriſten- " dom. The Diſcourſe between them continued for the ſpace of two hours, *Amotis Arbitris*. For he ordered his Servants that no one ſhould come to him on any occaſion before he called.

But this was not all that was done then by our young Divine to ſecure himſelf from the Reproach of a *Papiſt*. For in *November* next following, he Preached before the King on thoſe words, *John* 4. 20. *Our Fathers worſhipped on this Mountain*. In which Sermon he declared himſelf with ſuch warm zeal againſt ſome Errors and Corruptions in the *Roman* Church, that he ſhewed himſelf to be far enough from any inclination to the *Roman* Religion,

But

But his innocency in that matter will be made more apparent in ſome following paſſages of his Life.

Unto one of the moſt principal parts of which the Reader is now invited, *viz.* his Marriage, which was ſo far from being *Clandeſtine* and *Clancular* (as it was objected to him in Print above thirty years after its ſolemnization) that he ordered it to be performed upon St. *Simon* and *Judes* day, between ten and eleven of the Clock in the morning in his own *College-Chappel*, which by his appointment was ſet out with the richeſt Ornaments, in the preſence of a ſufficient number of Witneſſes of both Sexes, according to Law and Practice. The Wedding-Dinner was kept in his own Chamber, ſome Doctors and their Wives, with five or ſix of the Society being invited to it. Mrs. *Bride* was placed at the head of the Table, the Town-Muſick playing, and himſelf waiting moſt part of the Dinner, and no Formality wanting which was accuſtomably required (even to the

the very giving of Gloves) at the most solemn Wedding. These things are more particularly related, because some of his Enemies, having nothing else with which they could blast his Reputation, were pleased to accuse him of a *Clandestine* Marriage, and that he was obliged in Conscience to restore all the Emoluments that he had received from his Fellowship between that time and his Resignation. *But what shall be given to thee, or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue?* It seems it must be injustice in Mr. *Heylyn* to receive his share of an half-years Divident, which was usually allowed to persons in his circumstances, but it was no act of unrighteousness in other men to take bread out of the mouths of young Students, and send them to wander in solitary ways, being *hungry and thirsty, and their souls ready to faint in them.* The Ceremony was performed by his faithful and ingenuous friend Dr. *Allibond*; and the person that he made choice of for his Wife was

was Mrs. *Lætitia Heygate*, third Daughter of *Thomas Heygate* of *Heys* Esq; one of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the County of *Middlesex* (who in his younger days, whilst his elder Brother was alive, had been *Provost-Marshal-General* of the Army under the Earl of *Essex* at the Action of *Cales*) and of *Margery Skipwith* his Wife, one of the Daughters of——*Skipwith* of—— in the County of *Leicester*, a Family of good note and credit in those parts. Which said *Thomas Heygate* the Father was second Son of that *Thomas Heygate*, who was *Field-Marshal-General* of the *English* Forces before St. *Quintins*, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, *Anno Dom.* 1557. and of——*Stonner* his Wife, a Daughter of the antient Family of the *Stonners* in *Oxfordshire*.

These particulars are set down by our learned Doctor in his little *Manuscript* to this end, *That Posterity might know from what Roots they sprang, and not engage in any thing unworthy their*

Extraction. 'Tis an ineſtimable bleſſing for any one to be well Born and Deſcended, but the preſent guilt and future account of that perſon will be increaſed who blemiſhes and ſtains his Family by unworthy and ill-done actions.

Continuing this time, Mr. *Heylyn* had no very conſiderable ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his new Companion. For the Portion which he was to have by her (being a thouſand pounds) was never paid, many irreparable loſſes and miſ-fortunes happening to her eldeſt Brother, which he was not able to recover, though left by his Father in the poſſeſſion of 800 *l. per Annum.* His Fellowſhip he reſigned, and although he had the Advowſon of *Bradwel*, a very good Living in *Gloceſterſhire*, left him by his Father, together with a Rent-charge of Inheritance paid him out of the *Mannor* of *Lechlade*, yet he was conſtrained for a while to wreſtle with ſome neceſſities and frowns of Fortune. He parted with his Title to *Bradwel*, reſol-

resolving to lay the foundation of his future Felicity in this world by his own honest industry, and not bury himself in the obscurity of a Rural Life. His noble Friend, the Earl of *Danby*, whom he attended in the quality of a Chaplain to the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey* (his own Chaplains modestly refusing a Voyage which they conceived to be troublesome and dangerous) was not a little troubled to see such extraordinary merits continue still discouraged and unrewarded; and therefore out of his generous Nature presented him to the great Judg and *Mecænas* of Learning, Arch-Bishop *Laud*, then Bishop of *London*; who making a second and more narrow enquiry into his Temporal concerns, appointed him to meet him Court, which not long after was to remove to *Woodstock*. But his Lordship fell sick at *Reading*; and Mr. *Heylyn* met with some rude usages in the Kings Chappel, which was talked of the more at *Oxon*, the interest he had at Court being universally

known in that Univerſity. But it was not very many months after, that power was given him to revenge the Affront, being admitted Chaplain in *Ordinary* to the King, and into great Favour with the *Grandees* of that time. But a ſoul enobled with the principles of Gratitude and Generoſity is as averſe to retaliate, as to do an injury. The firſt perſon therefore, unto whom he paid his thankful Acknowledgments for his honorable Preferment, was the Earl of *Danby*, who preſently told him, "That thoſe thanks were not in the "leaſt due unto himſelf, but to the "Lord Biſhop of *London*, unto whoſe "generous and active mind the whole "of that Dignity was to be aſcribed. Upon which hint he attended upon the Biſhop; who after he had wiſh'd him happineſs in his new Preferment, gave him ſome particular Inſtructions for his behaviour in it, which he carefully obſerved the whole time of his Attendance upon the Sacred Perſon of his gracious Maſter.

Ha-

Having thus gained the advantage of this rising ground, he found out an honest Art by which he might recommend himself to the Patronage of some noble mind; and that was to assert the History of St. *George*, Patron of the most noble *Order* of the *Garter*, *A business* (as he tells the King in his Epistle Dedicatory) *of so intricate and involved a nature, that he had no Guide to follow, nor any Path to tread, but what he had made unto himself.* Neither had that Task ever come to perfection, had not so able an hand undertaken it, whose industry and abilities were superior to every thing but themselves. Many enemies the Book met withal, when it came first to light. But 'tis more easie to load learned Authors with Railing and Reproaches, than to Encounter and Confute their Arguments.

The *Historian* had the honor to be introduced by the Bishop of *London* into his Masters Bed-Chamber, unto whom he presented his Book, which his Majesty graciously accepted, and

held ſome conference with the Author about the ſubject-matter contained in it. He alſo gave Copies of the Hiſtory to all the Knights of the Order, that were then attending at Court, who all uſed him with reſpect ſuitable to his merits, except the Earl of *E.* who called him a *begging Scholar*; of which words he was afterward very much aſhamed, when the incivility unbecoming a Nobleman and Courtier, came to the knowledge of thoſe that were of his own Quality. Againſt this *Hiſtory* Doctor *Hackwel* appeared in Print; of which the King was preſently informed, and ſending for Mr. *Heylyn*, commanded him to conſider the Arguments of his *Antagoniſt*, and withal ſent him to *Windſor* to ſearch into the *Records* of the *Order*. This occaſioned a ſecond Edition of the *Hiſtory*, wherein were anſwered all the Doctors Arguments and Allegations, but no Reply made to his Invectives, which were too frequently interſperſed in the Book of that learned Writer; of whom Mr. *Heylyn* heard

heard no more till his very excellent Book about the *Supposed Decay of Nature* came out in a new Edition, wherein there was a Retractation made of those passages that related to St. *George*.

Mr. *Heylyn* began now to conceive some hopes of not being any longer unkindly dealt withal by the hand of Fortune, having a *Presentation* given him by one Mr. *Bridges* to the Parsonage of *Meysie-Hampton* in the Diocess of *Glocester*; unto the Bishop of which he made Application, but found him already pre-engaged to further the pretended Title of *Corpus Christi College* in *Oxon*. However his Lordship promised not to give *Institution* to any person, till the Title was cleared; advising Mr. *Heylyn* to leave his *Presentation* with him, and to enter a *Caveat* in his Court. But he who was false to God and his Mother-Church, could never be faithful to those engagements which he made to man; the one he deserted by turning *Papist*, being the only Bishop of the *English* Hierarchy, who re-

renounced a Persecuted Church to embrace the Errors and Idolatries of the *Roman* Communion: And as for his promises to Mr. *Heylyn*, those he violated, giving one Mr. *Jackson* who was presented by *C. C. C. Institution* so soon as ever he requested it. This engaged our young Married Divine in a tedious Suit at Law, which occasioned him great trouble, and that which he could not well at that time undergo, vast charge and expence; especially if we consider the bad success that attended it. For by reason of the absence of many of the *Jury*, and the supply of *Tales* (who attended upon the Trial as Water-men wait for a *Fare*) together with the Tergiversation or rather Treachery of one of his *Council*, upon whose Wisdom and Integrity the *Client* most relied, the Cause went against him, though affirmed by all *Standers-by*, and by the *Council* himself the night immediately preceding the Trial, to be as fair and just an Action as ever was brought to Bar. But *indignus est felicitate, quem for-*

fortuitorum pudet. It was not the first time that a poor man was oppressed and a righteous Cause miscarried. And God ever rewards the quiet submission of his faithful Servants to his wise and unsearchable Providence with far more valuable Blessings, than those which he deprives or with-holds from them. *Joseph* had never met with those signal honors and dignities in *Pharaohs* Court, had not he been first sold by his Brethren for a Bond-slave into *Egypt*.

Neither was this the only disappointment he met with in his way to Preferment. For not long after, Preaching at Court in his second Attendance, his Majesty expressed a very high opinion of him to many noble Lords about him, and in a few months after gave him a *Presentation* to the Rectory of *Hemingford* in the County of *Huntington*. But this also missed of the desired effect, which his Majesties Bounty and Mr. *Heylyns* necessities required. For the Bishop of *Lincoln*, unto whom he made Application with his *Presentation*,

tion, would not allow the King to have any Title to the Living; so that the poor man was fain to return to *London re infectâ*. The Bishop was much offended as well as surprized that a young Divine should have so comprehensive a knowledg of the Law. For he made good the Kings Right upon the passages of the Conveyances of the other party. But the King soon understood the entertainment his Chaplain met with at *Bugden*, and sent him this gracious Message, *That he was sorry he had put him to so much charge and trouble, but it should not be long before he would be out of his debt*. And he soon performed his Royal promise; for within a week after, he bestowed on him a *Prebendship* of *Westminster* (void by the death of Dr. *Darrel*) to the extreme vexation of his Lordship, who was then *Dean* of the same Church. And that which added to the honor of this Preferment, was his not only being the same day initiated into the friendship of the *Attorney-General*, Mr.

Mr. *Noye*, but the condescending Message that came along with the Royal Gift, *viz. That he bestowed that Prebendship on him to bear the charges of his last Journey, but he was still in his debt for the Living.* When *Moses* was deserted by his Parents for fear of *Pharaohs* fury, God was pleased to provide him a Saviour and a Nurse; and he was taken out of the Bul-rushes, and fed and preserved in despight of all his enemies.

Being possessed of this Preferment, he began the repairing and beautifying of his House, with many other things, so far as his narrow contracted Fortune would permit him. And the first honorable Visit that he received in his new Habitation, was from the learned Lord *Falkland*, who brought along with him one Captain *Nelson*, that pretended a new Invention, *viz. The Discovery of the Longitude of the Sea.* The Captain had imparted his design to many learned *Mathematicians*, who by no means could approve of, or subscribe

ſcribe to his Demonſtrations. But the King referr'd him to Mr. *Heylyn*, who told that noble Lord, That his Majeſty was miſtaken in him; his skill and knowledg lying more in the *Hiſtorical* than *Philoſophical* part of *Geography*. His Lordſhip ſeem'd much offended with the anſwer, conceiving that out of a ſupercilious diſdain of the old Captain, Mr. *Heylyn* declined the buſineſs. But he preſently rectified his Lordſhips miſ-apprehenſions, aſſuring his Honor that he would confer with ſome learned men about that *Hypotheſis*, and by previous Study fit and prepare himſelf to diſcourſe it with them, and in a ſhort time give the King and his Lordſhip an account of what he did in the buſineſs. With this his Lordſhip went away ſatisfied, and commended to Mr. *Heylyn* the acquaintance of Mr. *Oughtred*, as the ableſt perſon to be conſulted in an affair of that nature. Some Letters alſo paſſed between his Lordſhip and Mr. *Heylyn*, in which his Lordſhip commended the "honeſt old
"Captain

"Captain to his Religious and Judici-
"ous care and conſideration, telling
"him that in the credibility of that
"*Phænomenon*, his Majeſties Reſolu-
"tion would be very much guided by
"his Judgment, which he found would
"be of ſpecial Authority with him:
"That he preſs'd the point the oftner to
"him, becauſe he conceived it a duty
"which he owed to the Truth it ſelf to
"have it made manifeſt one way or
"other; that is, either to be freed from
"the Captains Impoſition and Pre-
"tence, if upon trial it appeared to be
"fallacious; or elſe to be approved and
"declared for right and perfect (if ſuch
"it be) to the perpetual ſilencing of all
"malicious impugners thereof, that
"the world may be deprived no lon-
"ger of the participation and uſe of ſo
"publick and common a Benefit.

Mr. *Heylyn* being backward in nothing, wherein he might be really ſerviceable to any one part of Learning, went to Mr. *Oughtred*, with whom he had much diſcourſe concerning the Ca-

ptains

ptains *Hypotheſis*. Mr. *Oughtred* told his Viſitant, that the Captain was very much miſtaken in his Principle; which he made afterward appear unto the Captain at *London*, and gave this following account of it in a Letter to Mr. *Heylyn*.——" I asked him the " ground whereon he went, and told " him the difficulties which others " found. His ground, he ſaid, was by " the Nodes of the Moons Circle, be- " cauſe the Moon accompanies the " Earth, having it the Center of her " Orb. The difficulties which others " imagined was the finding out of the " place of the Node or ☊ upon the " ſuperficies of the Earth. His Princi- " ple I determine to omit till more lei- " ſure (for I had but one whole day to " ſtay in *London*.) The difficulty of the " place of ☊ I ſaw factible at Sea, and " accordingly let him underſtand it. " Now being at *London*, I deſired con- " ference with him, and thus I pro- " ceeded. You require for the diſcove- " ry of the Longitude, the place of ☊ " upon

"upon the earth. Well, imagine you "were now at Sea in an unknown "place, and what I gave you in de-"grees of Longitude, the distance of "☉ from that place where you are; "what will you conclude? He was en-"tring into, I know not what by-de-"mands of *If this*, or *If that*; but I "held him to the Question in the *Hy-"pothesis*, telling him he had what he "required. At last he answered, Why "methinks you have done it already "your self. You have the distance of "☉ in the degrees of Longitude of ☉ "from an unknown place, and there-"fore the difference of the ☉ is also "unknown, except to that place only. "But we required the distance from "the other known place which you "promised to argue. At last he began "to be sensible of his mistake, and I "advised him to desist from such un-"dertakings; and being of so great an "Age, to labour the Discovery of an-"other Voyage, or rather only labour "to attain to the blessed end thereof,

"being

" being already opened to us by our
" Saviour. And this was the end of our
" Communication, and will be I sup-
" pose of that business also. I wonder
" how the Captain for these twelve
" years, wherein he hath mused upon
" this, and hath had conference with so
" many learned men, would receive no
" answer. But it seems they gave him
" too much liberty of digression; and
" he having a very ill expression of his
" of his confused Conceits, intangled
" himself more and more in perplexi-
" ties.

Thus this business ended; but before it was brought to this issue, there was an end put to the life of that learned Lord. However Mr. *Heylyn* continued his endeavours in the business, till the Captain was convinced of his mistake. Had the poor Captain lived unto these days, wherein Philosophy has met with such wonderful improvements, 'tis not unlikely but that he might have had the honor of giving the first hint of the truth of that *Hypothesis*. For I have

have been informed from a good hand, that Mr. *Hooke* the great pattern of modesty and industry, did not many years since in his Lectures at *Gresham-College* read upon this very subject; and divers of his Auditors as well as himself were of opinion, that he had really found out and demonstrated the *Seas Longitude*. And perhaps what is here inserted from Mr. *Oughtred* may invite him to oblige his Country with what he has written upon that *Hypothesis*.

But to make our return unto the subject of these Papers; whose mind was intent rather upon useful than notional Learning; and therefore about this time he began with great diligence to read over the *Statute-Laws* of the Nation, and to compare them with the times and circumstances that occurr'd in Story: and this he did with the greatest care, to enable himself for the service of his Royal Master, who then had the Small-Pox appearing on him, but soon recovered of that Distemper:

and our young Divine to testifie his joy, turned *Poet*, making a Copy of *English* Verses, which were presented by one of his Friends to his Majesty; and they were so well liked, that both their Majesties gave him the honor of their thanks.

But the King found Improvement rather for the Judgment than Fancy of his Chaplain; and therefore *Jan.* 27. 1632. sent for him to the *Council-Table*, where he received his Royal Commands to read over that Book of Mr. *Pryns*, called *Histriomastix*; and to collect thence all such passages, as were scandalous or dangerous to the King or State, and to reduce them into method. The Book was delivered to him, and a fortnights time assigned him to perform the task imposed. But he had learned from the wisest of men, That *diligence in business* and a quick dispatch of it would qualifie him for the service of Kings, and not *mean persons*. And therefore he performed what he undertook, and carried it to the *Secretary* of

of State in less than four days; for which he had his Majesties thanks, as also new Commands to revise his Papers, and to write down such logical Inferences as might naturally arise from the Premisses of Mr. *Pryn*. Which task was accordingly done by him, but either the Papers were lost, or at least pretended to be so. And he received a third Command to deliver his own Copy to the *Attorney-General*; and about this time, and upon this occasion wrote a small Tract touching the punishments due by Law, and in point of practice unto such Offenders as Mr. *Pryn*. And this was observable in the Trial of that person, that nothing was urged by the *Council* to aggravate his Faults, but what was contained in the Collections made by Mr. *Heylyn*.

For a reward of these and other Services, his Majesty bestowed on him the Parsonage of *Houghton*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, now let for above 470 *l. per ann.* and made void by the preferment of Dr. *Lendsel* to the See of

Peterborough; and ordered Mr. Secretary *Windebank* to take care for the Broad Seal; but within a few hours after intimated his Royal Pleasure to him by the Bishop of *London*, "that "it should be exchanged for some other "Living nearer hand, and more for the "convenience of his Chaplain, his Majesty conceiving that he might have "frequent occasion to make use of his "service, and therefore was unwilling "that he should have any Preferment "that was so far distant from his "Court. Upon this Dr. *Heylyn* entred into a Treaty with Dr. *Marshal* for the Parsonage of *Alresford* in *Hampshire*; where the first thing he did after *Institution* and *Induction*, was to order the daily Reading of Morning-Prayer, being a populous Market-Town, which gave very great content unto the people. And being *Ordinary* of the place, he removed the *Communion-Table* to the *East* end of the Chancel; the decency of which act, he not only justified by Reason, convincing the people how much

much it had been profaned by ſitting on it, Scribling and caſting Hats on it in Sermon time, and at other times paſſing the Pariſh Accounts, and diſputing buſineſſes of like nature; and which was worſt of all, by Dogs piſſing againſt it, and ſometimes ſnatching away the Bread that was provided for the uſe of the Bleſſed Sacrament, but by the place and poſture which the *Communion-Table* and Altars had been ſituated in former times. And in a ſhort time after, this act of his was juſtified and confirmed by what his Majeſty determined in the caſe of St. *Gregories* Church near St. *Pauls*, *London.*

But before theſe things happened, he took his Degree of *Batchelor* in Divinity, *viz.* In *July* 1630. his *Latine* Sermon was upon thoſe words, *Mat.* 4. 19. *Faciam vos fieri piſcatores hominum.* Upon the *Sunday* followiug (being the time of the *Act*) he Preached in the Afternoon on *Matth.* 13. 25. In which

Sermon he discovered the great *Mystery of Iniquity* that lay under the specious pretext of *Feoffees* for buying in of *Impropriations*. And he was the first person that ever gave notice of the danger of it to the undeceiving of the people. What he said concerning it made a loud clamour throughout the whole Nation, and was one of the first things that exposed him to the implacable hatred and malice of a restless Faction. At first he looked upon the project with as great reverence and affection, as any that were deceived and abused by it; and could not but congratulate the felicity of those times, in giving birth to a design of such signal merit. But when he look'd more narrowly into the mannagement and conduct of it, he apprehended it to be (as indeed it was) the most pernicious imposture that ever since the Reformation was imposed upon the people; and the most dangerous device to subvert the Church and undermine Epis-

Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction. And having satisfied himself in the danger of it, he conceived it his bounden duty to give notice of it to other men; that being once discovered and set out in its proper Colours, it might be taken into deeper consideration, than had been to that time observed of it. The Sermon was Preach'd *July* 11. and the passage in it which concern'd the *Feoffees* was in these words, "Planting of Pensionary-Lecturers in "so many places where it needs not, "and upon days of common labour, "will at last bring forth those fruits, "that will appear to be a Tare indeed, "though now no Wheat be accounted "fairer. For what is that which is most "aimed at in it, but to cry down the "standing Clergy of this Kingdom, to "undermine the Publick Liturgy by "Law Established, to foment Fa-"ctions in the State, Schisms in the "Church, and to have ready Sticklers "in every place for the Advancement "of some dangerous and deep Design?

" And now we are fallen upon this
" point, we will proceed a little far-
" ther in the propoſal of ſome things to
" be conſidered. The Corporation of
" *Feoffees* for buying of *Impropriations*
" to the Church, doth it not ſeem in
" the appearance to be an excellent
" piece of Wheat, a noble and gracious
" part of Piety? Is not this *Templum*
" *Domini, Templum Domini?* But bleſ-
" ſed God! that men ſhould thus draw
" near to Thee with their mouths and
" be ſo far from Thee in their hearts!
" For what are thoſe entruſted in the
" managing of this great Buſineſs? Are
" they not moſt of them the moſt a-
" ctive and beſt affected men in the
" whole cauſe, and *Magna partium mo-*
" *menta*, chief Patrons of this grow-
" ing Faction? And what are thoſe that
" they prefer? Are they not moſt of
" them ſuch men as are and muſt be
" ſerviceable unto their dangerous In-
" novations? And will they not in
" time have more Preferments to be-
" ſtow than all the Biſhops of the King-
dom?

"dom? And so by consequence a "greater number of Dependents to "promote their Interest? yet all this "while we sleep and slumber and fold "our hands in sloth, and see perhaps, "but dare not note it. High time it is "assuredly you should be awaked and "rouze up your selves upon the appre-"hension of so near a danger. The noise and calumnies that were raised and fixed upon Mr. *Heylyn* after this Sermon, incited him to make a more narrow search into the matter, and to multiply as well as strengthen his former Arguments, which he delivered to his endeared Friend Mr. *Noye*, who undertook the suppression of the *Feoffees* in the Kings name; and they were accordingly suppressed in a judicial way of proceeding in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, Feb. 13. 1633.

In which year Mr. *Heylyn* commenc'd his Degree of Doctor in Divinity; an honor not usually in those days conferr'd upon men of such green years; but he verified those excellent words

words of the Son of *Syrach*, *That honorable Age is not that which stands in length of time, nor that which is measured by number of years, but Wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.* He entertained some hopes that those prejudices and heats which for some years past he had felt at *Oxon*, had been cooled and allayed; and that the remembrance of them was quite buried by Dr. *Prideaux*, having so long a tract of time as from 1627. to 1633. to forget them. In his first Disputation he had insisted on the Churches *Visibility*; and now he resolved to assert and establish its *Authority*: and to that purpose made choice to answer upon these three Questions for his Degree of Doctor,

Wisdom 4. 8, 9.

An Ecclesia habeat Authoritatem,
- *In determinandis Fidei Controversiis?*
- *Interpretandi Scripturas?*
- *Decernendi Ritus & Ceremonias?*

All

All which he held in the *Affirmative*, according to the plain and positive Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the 20th. *Article*, which thus runs *in terminis*, viz. *Habet Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias statuendi Jus, & in Fidei Controversiis Authoritatem*, &c. But the *Regius Professor* was as little pleased with these Questions, and the *Respondents* stating of them, as he was with the former: And therefore that he might the more effectually expose him, he openly declared how the *Respondent* had falsified the publick Doctrine of the Church, and charged the *Article* with that Sentence, *viz. Habet Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias*, &c. which was not to be found in the whole Body of it; and for the proof thereof, he read the *Article* out of a Book which lay before him beginning thus, *Non licet Ecclesiæ quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur*, &c. To which the *Respondent* readily answered, That he perceived by the bigness of the Book which lay upon the Doctors

ctors Cushion, that the *Article* he read was out of the *Harmony of Confessions* publish'd at *Ceneva, Anno Dom.* 1612. which therein followed the Edition of the *Articles* in the time of King *Edw.6. Anno Dom.* 1552. in which that Sentence was not found; but that it was otherwise in the *Articles* agreed on in the *Convocation*, *Anno Dom.* 1562. to which most of us had subscribed in our several places; but the *Professor*. still insisting upon that point, and the *Respondent* perceiving the greatest part of his Auditory dissatisfied, he called to one Mr. *Westly*, who had formerly been his Chamber-Fellow in *Magdalen College*, and desired him to fetch the Book of *Articles* from some Adjacent Booksellers; which being observed by the *Professor*, he declared himself very willing to decline any farther Debate about that business, and to go on directly in the Disputation; But the *Respondent* was resolved to proceed no further, *Usque dum liberaverit animam suam ab istâ calumniâ*, (as his own words

words were) till he had freed himself from that Imputation. And it was not long before the coming of the Book put an end to the Controversie; out of which he read the Article in *English in his verbis, The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith,* &c. which done, he delivered the Book to one of the Auditors who desired it of him, the Book passing from one hand to another till all were satisfied. And at this point of time it was, that the Bishop of *Angolesme,* Lord *Almoner* to the Queen, left the *Schools*, professing afterward, *That he could see no hope of a fair Disputation from so foul a beginning.*

It has been laid to Doctor *Heylyn*'s charge, that at this time he was *Hissed,* because he *excluded King and Parliament from being parts of the Church:* But he never deny'd either to be parts of the *Diffusive* Body of the Church, but only to be parts of the Church *Representative*, which consists of the Bishops and Clergy in their several *Coun-*

cils.

cils. For neither King nor Parliament are Members of the *Convocation*, as he then proved and asserted. The *Articles* ascribe to the Church of *England* Represented in a *National Council* power of decreeing *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, and Authority of determining *Controversies* in Faith, as well as other Assemblies of that nature. And this neither deserved nor met with any *Hiss*. Perhaps a *Hiss* was then given, but it was when the *Regius Professor* went to prove, that not the *Convocation*, but the *High Court of Parliament* had power of ordering matters in the Church, in making *Canons*, ordaining *Ceremonies*, and determining *Controversies* in Religion. And he could find no other *medium* to make it good, but the Authority of Sir *Edw. Coke* in one of the Books of his *Reports*. An Argument unto which the *Respondent* returned no other *Answer* than *Non credendum est cuique extra suam Artem*; upon which immediately he gave place to the next *Opponent*, which put an end to the heats

heats of that Disputation. But it did not so to the *Regius Professors* passion against Dr. *Heylyn*. For conceiving his Reputation somewhat lessened in the eye of the world, he gave an account in a paper of the whole transaction, that tended very much to the Doctors disgrace, as well as his own Justification. But Dr. *Heylyn* well knew upon what bottom he stood, and therefore in his own Vindication caused the *Professor* to be brought before the *Council-Table* at *Woodstock*, where he was publickly rebuked for the mis-representations that he had made of him. And upon the coming out of the Kings *Declaration* concerning Lawful Sports, Dr. *Heylyn* took the pains to translate the *Regius Professors* Lecture upon the *Sabbath* into *English*, and putting a Preface before it, caused it to be Printed; A performance which did not only justifie his Majesties proceedings, but abated much of that opinion, which Dr. *Prideaux* had amongst the Puritanical Faction in those days.

Pass

Pass we now from the University, the School of Learning and Study, to the Court, the Seat of Breeding and Business; where Dr. *Potter* (afterward Dean of *Worcester*) presented to the King a very learned Treatise, called *Charity Mistaken*; and for a reward of his great Abilities, had a *Prebendship* of *Windsor* design'd for him, which was then likely to become vacant by the promotion of the Bishop of *Glocester* to the See of *Hereford*. Many of Dr. *Heylyn*'s Friends were very zealous with the King on his behalf, especially Dr. *Neile* then Archbishop of *York*. But his Lordship stuck faster to his Bishoprick, than he did to his Principles, and so the business ended. But whilst it was in agitation, it occasioned this merry *Epigram* from our young *Doctor*, who was conceived by every one to have missed that *Prebendship* upon the supposed Vacancy;

When

When Windſor-*Prebend late diſpoſed was,*
One ask'd me ſadly how it came to paſs,
Potter *was choſe and* Heylyn *was forſaken?*
I anſwered, 'twas Charity Miſtaken.

But the Doctors Juvenile humor was preſently converted iuto a far leſs pleaſing paſſion. For Mr. Attorney-General *Noye* left this world for a better, very much to the ſorrow, but much more to the loſs of Dr. *Heylyn.* He kept his *Whitſontide* in 1634. with the Doctor at *Brentford*, where he uſed all imaginable arguments and intreaties to diſſuade him from going to *Tunbridge*-Waters the following *Vacation,* importuning him to accompany him to *Alresford*, where he would be certain to find a better Air, and a more careful Attendance. But we are very often wiſe to our own hurt, and ſtand in that light which would guide us to ſafety and felicity. But whatſoever

damage our Doctor sustained by the loss of so invaluable a Friend, some persons else have gained well by it, having two large Manuscripts of Mr. *Noys* own hand-writing: The one contains the Collections he made of the Kings maintaining his *Naval* power according to the practice of his Royal Predecessors: The other about the Priviledges and Jurisdictions of Ecclesiastical Courts. These two Books Doctor *Heylyn* had a sight of from Mr. *Noy* about two months before the death of that learned man. And it would be a generous act and highly conducive to the honor of Mr. *Noy*'s memory, as well as the Kings and Churches interest, if such Treasures were communicated to the benefit of all his Majesties Subjects, which are now only useful to some single persons.

Neither was this all the trouble that Dr. *Heylyn* met with at this time. For some enemies then living added to the sorrow and disturbance that he had for his departed Friend. The grievances which

which the Collegiate Church of *Westminster* suffered under the Government of *John* Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, then *Commendatory-Dean* thereof, became so intolerable, that our Doctor was constrained for the common safety of that Foundation, to draw up certain *Articles* (no less than 36.) against his Lordship by way of charge; which he communicated to Dr. *Thomas Wilson*, Dr. *Gabriel Moore*, and Dr. *Ludovicus Wemmys*, Prebendaries of the said Church, who embarqu'd themselves in the same bottom with him, and resolved to make complaint by way of *Petition*; which was drawn up and presented to the King by all four together in the *Withdrawing-Chamber* at *Whitehal*, *March* 31. 1634. And a *Commission* was issued out thereupon to the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Portland* Lord high Treasurer, the Lord Bishop of *London*, Lord *Cottington*, and the two Secretaries of State, *viz.* Sir *John Coke* and Sir *Francis Windebank*;

authorizing them to hold a *Visitation* of the Church of *Westminster* to examine particular charges made against *John* Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, and to redress such Grievances and Pressures as the *Prebendaries* of the said Church suffered by his Mis-government. The Articles were returned to Dr. *Heylyn* to be put in *Latine*, and the *Commission* bore date *April* 20. But the whole thing lay dormant till *December* 1635. at which time the Bishop began again to rage in his Province of *Westminster*, dispossessing the *Prebendaries* of their Seats, neglecting to call the *Chapter* to pass accounts, conferring *Orders* in the said Church within the space of a month, permitting a Benefice in the gift of the said Church, and lying within his Diocess, to be lapsed unto himself; with many other Grievances which caused the forementioned *Prebendaries* to present a second *Petition* to his Majesty, *Humbly beseeching him to take the ruinous and desperate estate of the said Church into his Princely consideration,*

ſideration, as 'tis worded in the *Petition* it ſelf.

Upon which the former *Commiſſion* was revived and delivered to the Lords whom it did concern; and a Citation fixed upon the Church-doors of *Weſtminſter* accordingly. Upon *January* 25. they were warned by the *Sub-Dean* to meet the Biſhop in *Jeruſalem-Chamber*, where amongſt other matters his Lordſhip deſired to know what thoſe things were that were amiſs, that ſo he might preſently redreſs them. To whom Dr. *Heylyn* replied, That ſeeing they had put the buſineſs into his Majeſties hands, it would ill become them to take it out of his into their own. *Jan.* 27. both parties met before the Lords in the *Inner Star-Chamber*, where the *Commiſſion* was tendred and accepted, and the whole buſineſs put into a methodical courſe; each following *Monday* being appointed for the day of hearing, till the whole was concluded. *Feb.* 1. The *Commiſſioners* with the *Plaintiffs* and *Defendant* met in the

Council-Chamber at *Whitehal*, where it was ordered that the *Plaintiffs* ſhould be called by the name of *Prebendaries-Supplicant*. That they ſhould be admitted upon Oath as Witneſſes. That they ſhould have a ſight of all Regiſters, Records, Books of Accounts, *&c.* That the firſt buſineſs that they ſhould proceed in ſhould be that of the *Seat*, becauſe that made the breach or difference more viſible and offenſive to the world, than thoſe matters that were more private and domeſtick, and finally that the *Prebendaries-Supplicant* ſhould have an *Advocate*, who ſhould plead their Cauſe, defend their Rights, and repreſent their Grievances. And the perſon that they unanimouſly made choice of was Dr. *Peter Heylyn*.

Feb. 8. the *Dean* put in his Plea about the *Seat* or great Pew under *Richard* the II. and the *Advocate* being appointed by the *Prebendaries-Supplicant* to ſpeak in the defence of their common Intereſt, in the *Seat* now controverted, and of which the Biſhop of *Lin-*

Lincoln had most disgracefully dispossessed them, he made choice to represent to the Lord *Commissioners*, 1. Their *Original* Right. 2. Their *Derivative* Right, and lastly their *Possessory* Right.

Their *Original* Right he proved from the Charter of their Foundation, from Queen *Elizabeth* their Foundress, who declared by Act of Parliament made in the first year of her Reign, the *Abbey* of St. *Peter* in *Westminster* fell into her hands, and that being seized thereof, and of all the Lands thereunto belonging, she did by her *Letters Patents* erect the said dissolved *Abbey* into a Collegiate Church, consisting of a *Dean* and twelve *Prebendaries*; and that the said *Dean* and *Prebendaries* should be both *in re & nomine unum corpus corporatum, one only Body Politick; that they should have a perpetual Succession, a Common Seal; and that they should Call, Plead and be Impleaded by the name of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St.* Peter *in* Westminster.— So that by this Donation the *Dean* hath

no propriety in the ſaid Church (his own *Stall* excepted) but is joynt-Owner with the *Prebendaries* of the *Site* and *Soil.* Nor did the Queen beſtow upon them the Church alone, but beſtowed it *joyntly upon them, una cum omnibus antiquis privilegiis, libertatibus, ac liberis conſuetudinibus*; *and thoſe to be enjoyed in as full a manner, as ever tho Abbot and Convent did before enjoy the ſame.* By which it appears, that all the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Church of *Weſtminſter* is veſted joyntly in the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and not in the *Dean* alone. For as the *Dean* and *Chapter* are one *Body*, ſo they make one *Ordinary*; and as one *Ordinary*, have a common and joynt Power to diſpoſe of *Seats.*

Their *Derivative* Right, he proved from their *Original* Right: For the Queen giving the *Dean* and *Prebendaries* with their Succeſſors all Rights, Poſſeſſions, Privileges and Immunities, they need only to prove their Succeſſion in the Church of St. *Peter*; and then

then whatever Right was in their Predecessors *Original*, must be on them *derived*.

As for their *Possessory* Right, he desired their Lordships pardon, if he should fail in the proof of it. For the Book of the *Chapter-Acts* was missing, which was very necessary in order to it. And although one offered to take his Oath, that the Bishop of *Lincoln* never saw it; yet the Oath was so desperate, that either the person who offered to take it had an hand in making away the Book, or else that he durst swear whatever the Bishop of *Lincoln* said or asserted. But being deprived of that Evidence, he proceeded to *Testimony*; where he did not make use of such Witnesses as were summoned by the *Dean*, *viz.* *College*-Servants and Tenants, who were obnoxious to him; but indifferent men, that were no way Friends to the *Complainants*, but only to the Truth; some of them Bishops, some Doctors in Divinity, all of them of unquestion'd Credit, and such as spake upon

upon certain and affirmative knowledge.

Finally, the *Advocate* (than whom never any Orator or Lawyer did better acquit himself) urged, that however things were in time past, yet the Bishop by his *Non-Claim* had pre-judged himself; and that the possession of the *Prebendaries* since his Lordship became *Dean* of *Westminster* was sufficient to create a Right, though they had never any right before. And this he made good by particular Cases and Decisions in the *Civil*, *Canon*, and *Common* Laws.

First, for the *Civil* Law it was determined by the Laws of the *twelve Tables*, That a continued and quiet possession which any man had gained in a *Personal* Estate, for one year only, or for two years together in matters *Real*, which they call *Immovable*, should create a Right; (those times being thought sufficient for any man to put in his Claim.) And so it held in *Rome* many hundred years, till that upon some inconveniences which did thence arise, it plea-

pleased *Justinian* to set out his *Edict* (which is still extant in the 7th. Book of his *Code*) and in that *Edict* to Decree, That a possession of three years in matters *Personal* should beget a Right: and as for *Real* Estates, it was determined that a possession of ten years *inter præsentes*, and twenty years *inter absentes* should conclude as much. And in almost all Nations Christened, the same Law has continued to this very time. So that if this be applied to my Lord of *Lincoln*, he is gone in *Civil* Law: For being resident here continually for fifteen years together, he never made his Claim to the *Seat* in question, and so has lost his Right, if ever he had any.

Next for the *Canon* Law, it yields as many ruled Cases and Decisions, by which to regulate this point as the former. But the *Advocate* instanc'd only in one. The Church of *Sutry* in *Tuscany* being void, the *Canons* go to the Election of a Bishop, and make choice of one whom they desire to have confirmed

firmed. The Clergy of the *Convents* about the City interpose their Claim, and make it manifest, *Eos Electionibus trium Episcoporum qui immediatè præfuerunt, &c. interfuisse*, i. e. that they were present at the Election of the three last Bishops, and did give their Voices. The Pope thereupon determined, that seeing the Witnesses on the *Canons* part did seem to differ among themselves, *Et quod negativam quodammodo astruere satagebant*, and that they went about to prove the Negative, *viz.* that the said Clerks had no Voices in the three last Elections, or were not present in the same: (which negative proof it seems was taken for a strange attempt.) And seeing on the other side, that it was manifest how the said Clerks were present at the three last Elections, and had their Voices in the same, the former Election was made void, and the said Clerks put into that possession which they had before. A Case (says Dr. *Heylyn*) that is very parallel to our present

present business, we claiming, that if not before, yet in the time of the three last *Deans* we had possession of this *Seat*, and therefore are to be restored unto that possession, out of which we had been cast by my Lord of *Lincoln*.

Lastly, for the *Common* Law, however, there is nothing against which the Laws do provide more carefully, than the preventing or removing of a Force; nor any thing wherein they do proceed with more severity than in punishing of the same; yet by the Laws it is enacted, that they which keep their possessions by Force in any Lands or Tenements whereof they or their Ancestors, or they, whose Estate they have in such Lands or Tenements, have continued their Possession by the space of three years or more, be not endangered by any former Statutes against Force, Forcible Entries, and Forcible Detainers. So careful are the Laws to preserve Possession, that in most cases they do prefer it before Right; at least till

Right

Right be cleared and Judgment be pronounced in favour of it. And albeit in the *Common* Laws there is no ruled Case in the present business, as being meerly of Ecclesiastical Cognizance and Jurisdiction, yet in the *Common* Law, there is one Case which comes very near it; and 'tis briefly this. If there be two *Joynt*-Tenants, or Tenants in *Common* of certain Lands, and one of them doth expel or put forth the other out of Possession of the said Lands by force, he that is so expelled may either bring his Writ of Assize of *Novel Disseisin*, and so recover treble dammages, or have his Action of Trespass of Forcible Entry against his Companion that did so expel him, and thereupon shall have a Writ of Restitution. This Case is very near ours, as before is said, the *Dean* and *Prebendaries* being *Joint*-Tenants, or Tenants in *Common* of the *Seat* in question, out of which we are expelled forcibly by my Lord of *Lincoln*, and now desire the benefit of the Law for our Restitution.

But

But (ſays the *Advocate*) my Lord objects, that the *Prebendaries* are in ſubjection to him, that they ſwear *Canonical* Obedience to him, and therefore ſhould not ſit in the ſame *Seat* with him. But to both we anſwer with an *Abſque hoc*, we are not in ſubjection to him; for we are made *Joynt*-Governors with him in every thing pertaining to the Church, and in the Statutes are entituled *Primarii & principes viri*, and are to be Aſſiſtants to him, and Aſſociates with him in the common Government of the ſame. Nor do we ſwear *Canonical* Obedience to him, as is pretended. We only make *Oath* that we ſhall give him *dignam debitamque Reverentiam*, and that we ſwear to give to all Officers: So that if *Digna Reverentia* is to be conſtrued *Canonical* Obedience, we owe *Canonical* Obedience to the *Arch-Deacon*, the *Treaſurer*, the *Sub-Dean* and *Steward*, as well as to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Much more was ſpoken by Dr. *Heylyn vivâ voce* in this matter, which will be

be too tedious to be inserted in his *Life*. But when he had ended his Speech, the Lord *Commissioners* expected that the Bishop would have made a Reply; but after a long pause, he said no other words than these, *If your Lordships will hear that young fellow prate, he will presently persuade you that I am no Dean of* Westminster. But upon hearing the proofs of both sides, it was ordered by general consent of the Lord *Commissioners*, that the *Prebendaries* should be restored to their old *Seat*, and that none should sit there with them but Lords of the Parliament and Earls Eldest Sons, according to the antient custom. After this, there was no Bishop of *Lincoln* to be seen at Morning-Prayer in the Church, and seldom at Evening. *Feb.* 15. the Lord *Commissioners* went on in hearing the particulars of the second *Petition*, and so they proceeded from one *Monday* to another, till *Monday April* 4. and then adjourned till the 25th. of the same month: upon which day the business was again re-

re-sumed, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* appeared not so well to the Lord *Commissioners*; except those of the Laity, who were apparently inclined to favour him; and therefore those of the Clergy thought it neither fit nor safe to proceed to Sentence; and upon that the *Commission* was put off *sine die*.

The *Advocate*'s Activity in this Affair procured him a great deal of enmity and ill-will both in Court and Countrey, as every mans Zeal will do, that will be true to his Principles, and faithful in his Station. For whoever does impartially administer, or peremptorily demand publick Justice, will as certainly be exclaimed of, as a Patient will cry out of that Chirurgeon that Launces a gangren'd or fester'd Wound. But Dr. *Heylyn* gained these two advantages by his zeal in this business, *viz.* That he justified the Priviledges of the *Prebendaries*, out of whose Revenues the Bishop kept a plentiful Table; inviting to it the chiefest of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry; the

Prebendaries having no other advantages by his Hospitality, than to fill their bellies with the first Course, and then after the manner of great mens Chaplains, to rise up and wait till the coming in of the second: And the other was, that by his frequent and *extempore* Debates before the Lords *Commissioners*, he was at last brought to such an habit of speaking, that Preaching became more easie and familiar to him, than it had been in the first part of his life.

I will not (as I before promised) mention all the Grievances that were complained of concerning that great person. One thing more it may not be amiss to insert in these Papers, and that is Dr. *Heylyn's* Refusal to sit in the *Choire* of *Westminster*, according to Academical Decrees. For the Bishop of *Lincoln* having taken a Resolution, that the twelve *Prebendaries* should sit in the *Choire* according to their Degrees in the Vniversity, our Doctor remonstrated against it, giving these Reasons for his Refusal.

1. In

1. In the *Charter* of the Foundation of that Church, the *Prebendaries* are distinguished by *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, &c. as now by *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia Præbenda*, &c. according unto which account, both in the *Treasurers Book* and in the *Chanters*, I am reckoned as the sixth *Prebendary*, and do preach accordingly, as Successor to *Edmund Stbambler*, the *Sextus Prebendarius* here first established.

2. In the same *Chanter* of the Foundation, *William Young* being of no Degree is placed before *Gabriel Goodman*, Master of Arts, which makes it evident, there was no purpose that for the after-times, the Order of Academical Degrees should be observed in marshalling the *Prebendaries* places.

3. The Statutes of the *College* give to the new succeeding *Prebendaries* the *Stall* and *House* belonging to their Predecessors in the same *Prebend*, according to these words thereof, *Succedant Prebendarii prædecessoribus suis in eâdem præbenda tam in Stallo, loco & voce*

voce in Capitulo, quam in domo eidem Præbendæ annexi. By which it is apparent, that the *Stalls* as well as *Houses* are annexed to the *Prebendaries*. But the *Prebendaries* by this Statute take not their places in the *Chapter-House* by any such Seniority as is pretended; nor have two several *Chapter-Acts* been found of any force to sever the *Houses* from the *Prebendaries*, and therefore not their *Stalls* neither.

4. His Majesties *Letters Patents*, whereby I claim whatsoever I hold in *Westminster*, give me *Præbendam illam quæ vacat per mortem*, G. Darrel (which was the sixth *Prebend*) *cum omnibus juribus & præheminentiis*, with all Rights and Pre-eminences thereunto belonging; and so by consequence the sixth *Stall* also, as the pre-eminence appertaining to it.

5. The *Mandat* in those Letters Patents is, that I be installed fully and absolutely in the same *Prebend* which was then vacant (*In eandem Præbendam plenariè installari faciatis*, as the

Patent

Patent goes) which is not done at all, either *plenariè* or *in eandem*, if this order hold.

6. The *Mandat* issuing out with the said Letters Patents, is, that I be Installed *prout moris est*, according to the antient custom. But such a custom by sitting according to degrees of Schools was never yet known in *Westminster*, nor in any Church out of the University that I can hear of, and is not kept in many Colleges of the University, which I am sure of: therefore that clause reflects upon such a custom as hath formerly been used in *Westminster*, and hath both the *Statute* and the *Charter* for the ground thereof.

7. Your Lordship did determin the last *Chapter*, that the way of sitting by *Prima, Secunda, Tertia Præbenda, &c.* was most agreeable to Statute; and that if any man should take his place accordingly, he could not be hindred from so doing; to which determination there was then a full assent in *Cha-*

pter, and divers of the *Prebendaries* have ſince ſate accordingly.

8. Whereas your Lordſhip took a Corporal Oath at your Admiſſion into this *Deanery* to govern this Collegiate Church *ex his Statutis*, according to the tenor of theſe very Statutes which are now in uſe; and that the *Prebendaries* have all of them taken a ſeveral Oath faithfully to obſerve the ſame Statutes; and whereas the Statute is moſt plain, that the new *Prebendaries* are to have the *Stalls* of their Predeceſſors in the ſame *Prebend*, I cannot ſee how poſſibly this new order can ſtand with the ſame Statute, and ſo by conſequence with our Oaths, who have ſworn to keep them.

9. Upon this new order there will follow ſuch confuſion in the Church, that upon the coming in of a new *Prebendary*, the greateſt part of the company will be ſtill troubled to remove their *Stalls* higher or lower from one ſide to another, according as the New-comer is in Seniority; and ſo inſtead

of order, we ſhall bring diſorder into our Church.

10. This new order is an Innovation never before known in this Church, and hath no ground in Statute or in Cuſtom, which, as your Lordſhip noted, is *optimus Interpres Legis*; but is quite contrary thereunto. Unto which Statute and his Majeſties *Letters Patents* I refer my ſelf; humbly deſiring that theſe juſt reaſons of my refuſal to yield to ſuch an order, as neither ſtands with Statute, or with Cuſtom, nor any other true ground of Reaſon, may find a favourable Interpretation and Admiſſion.

Whilſt theſe hot conteſts continued, out came our Doctors *Hiſtory of the Sabbath*; the *Argumentative* or *Scholaſtick* part of which ſubject was refer'd to Biſhop *White* of *Ely*; the *Hiſtorical* part to Dr. *Heylyn*, who had before that time given ample Teſtimony of his knowledge in the antient Writers. The *Hiſtory* is divided into two parts: The firſt whereof begins with the Foundation of the World, and carries on the

ſtory till the deſtruction of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. The ſecond begins with our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and is drawn down to the year 1633. It was Written, Printed and Preſented to the King (by whoſe Special Command he undertook it) in a leſs ſpace of time than four months, and had a ſecond Edition within three months after: and notwithſtanding the polemical Debates upon that Argument, there was never any one yet that had the courage to return an Anſwer to that *Hiſtory*. And whoever peruſes it with ſerious and unprejudiced thoughts, will find that its Author principally deſigned to withdraw his Country-men from a *Judaical* Obſervation of the Lords day, *i. e.* from Dedicating the whole of that time to the ſervices and offices of Religion; and refuſing to engage in any buſineſs, which our own or our Neighbors Conveniences or Neceſſities might exact from us. And when all that our voluminous Writers have ſaid upon this Argument is

ſumm'd

ſumm'd up together, there are none of them but will ſubſcribe to the truth of theſe two Propoſitions: 1. That worldly cares and bodily Recreations tend very much to diſcompoſe and rarifie mens ſpirits, and to fill them full of froth and worldlineſs, of gaiety and wantonneſs; ſo that they cannot fix their thoughts upon Chriſtian Duties with any ſerious or continued Attention. 2. That 'tis impoſſible for the minds of the generality of Chriſtians, who are not uſed to Contemplation to be for a whole Lords day, or the greateſt part of it, intent upon Religious Exerciſes. And beſides, if all Refreſhments and Recreations were abſolutely unlawful upon that day. poor Servants and the laborious part of mankind would be highly prejudiced, for whoſe benefit the Sabbath was firſt inſtituted and appointed.

No ſooner had the Doctor perfected this *Hiſtory*, but the Dean of *Peterborough* engages him to anſwer the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Letter to the *Vicar* of *Grantham*.

Grantham. He received it upon *Good-Friday*, and by *Thursday* night following discovered the Sophistry, Mistakes and Falshoods of it; and yet did not for all that intermit any of the publick Religious Exercises of the holy Feast of *Easter*. It was approved by the King; by him given to the Bishop of *London* to be Licensed and Published under the Title of *A Coal from the Altar*.——In less time then a twelve-month the Bishop of *Lincoln* writ an Answer to it, entituled, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing*: but pretended it was writ long before by a Minister in *Lincolnshire* against Dr. *Cole*, a Divine in the days of Queen *Mary*. Our Reverend Doctor received a Message from his Majesty to return a Reply to it, and not in the least to spare the Author, *April* 1. 1637. And he obeyed the Royal Command, in the space of seven weeks, presenting it ready Printed to the King the 20th. of *May* following; and called it *Antidotum Lincolniense*. And although the Bishops Book was (from

(from the dissatisfaction of the times, the subject-matter of the Book it self, and the Religious esteem of the Author who was held in high Veneration) looked upon to be unanswerable, and sold for no less than 4 *s.* yet upon the coming out of the answer, it was brought to less than one. But before this, he answered *Burtons* Seditious Sermon, being thereunto also appointed by the King; which Book although he dispatch'd in a fortnight, yet it was not published till *June* 26. 1637. being kept in readiness till the Execution of the *Star-Chamber* Sentence upon the *Triumviri*; that so people might be satisfied as well in the greatness of the Crimes, as the necessity and justice of the punishment inflicted upon those Offenders.

Pryn, Burton, Bastwick.

In *July*, 1637. the Bishop of *Lincoln* was Censured in the *Star-Chamber* for tampering with Witnesses in the Kings Cause, being suspended *à Beneficio & Officio*, and sent to the *Tower*, where he continued

continued three years, and did not in all that space of time hear either Sermon or Publick Prayers. Not long after this, Dr. *Heylyn* was chosen *Treasurer* for the Church of *Westminster*, and continued in that Office all the while of the Bishops Imprisonment and Suspension. And he made use of the power with which that place invested him to the best advantage of that Foundation. For first he regulated the Disorders of the *Jury* by exacting the *Sconces* or *Perdition-money*, and dividing it amongst those that were most diligent and devout. Then he proceeded to repair the Timber-work of the great *West Isle*, which was ready to fall down; caused the new Arch over the Preaching-place to be new Vaulted, and the Roof thereof to be raised to the same heighth with the rest of the Church; the Charge whereof amounted to 434*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* and lastly, made the *South-side* of the lower *West-Isle* to be new Timbred, Boarded and Leaded, being fallen into great decay.

Thrice

Thrice he assisted in the Election at *Westminster-School*, and every time had an opportunity of bringing in a Scholar into that Royal Foundation; for two of which he was never spoke unto: and for his kindness unto all three he never had the value of one pint of Wine, nor any thing of less moment.

Whilst he continued *Treasurer*, the Parsonage of *Islip* became vacant by the Death of Dr. *King*, unto which he was presented by the *Chapter*. But he deferr'd receiving *Institution* by reason of its great distance from *Alresford*, being advised to exchange it for some other that was more near and convenient. After many offers, he at last exchanged with Mr. *Atkinson* of *St. Johns College* in *Oxon* for *South-Warnborough*, which was eight miles distant from his other Living; and the perpetual Patronage of which Archbishop *Laud* had bestowed upon that fore-mentioned Society. But that Gentleman enjoyed *Islip* but a few weeks; and those of his *College* conceiving themselves prejudi-

judiced by the change, our Doctor was so generous, as to obtain for one of the Fellows a second *Presentation* to *Ifleip*, for which he never received so much as the least civil Acknowledgment.

But he had other things to afflict his spirit at that time, his whole Family being visited with a contagious Fever, and no person in it, except one Servant, but were all sick at one and the same time. The Doctor did as narrowly escape death, as St. *Paul* and his Companions did Shipwrack, when they went to *Rome*. The Fever had so seized upon his spirits, that after the abatement of its Paroxisms, he had many dull and sleepless nights; and returning upon him with greater violence a twelvemonth after, he was reduced to so extreme a weakness, that all his Friends together with himself supposed him fallen into a deep Consumption. And yet even at this time his mind was not idle or unactive. For now it was that he first meditated of a project of Writing a *History* of the Church of *England*

land ſince the *Reformation*. And no ſooner had he recovered ſome meaſure and degrees of ſtrength, but he prepared materials for it; and upon his return to *London*, obtained the freedom of Sir *Robert Cotton's* Library, and by the recommendation of Archbiſhop *Laud* had liberty granted him to carry home ſome of the Books, leaving 200 *l.* apiece as a pawn behind him.

About this time it was, that the Commotions began to be hot in *Scotland*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deſigning to put out an *Apology* for vindicating the *Liturgy*, that he had recommended to that *Kirk*, deſired our Doctor to tranſlate it into *Latine*; that being publiſhed with the *Apology*, the world might be ſatisfied in his Majeſties Piety, as well as his *Graces* care; as alſo that the rebellious and perverſe temper of the *Scots* might be apparent unio all, who would raiſe ſuch tumults upon the recommendation of a Book that was ſo venerable and Orthodox. Our Reverend Doctor under-

undertook and compleated it; but the distemper and troubles of those times were the occasion that the Book went no farther than the hands of that learned *Martyr*.

In *Feb.* 1639. Dr. *Heylyn* was put in *Commission* of the *Peace* for the County of *Hampshire*; into which he was no sooner admitted, but he occasioned the discovery of an horrid Murther, that had been committed many years before in that Country. *April* following he was elected Clerk of the *Convocation* for the College of *Westminster*. At which time the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sending a *Canon* to that Assembly for *the Suppressing the further growth of Popery, and bringing Papists to Church*, our Reverend Doctor moved his *Grace* that the *Canon* might be enlarged for the greater satisfaction of the people, as well as the protection of the Church, *viz.* "That all persons entrusted with "Care of Souls, should respectively use "all possible Care and Diligence by "open Conferences with the Parties, and

"and by Censures of the Church in in-
"ferior Courts, as also by Complaints
"unto the Secular Powers, to reduce
"all such to the Church of *England* as
"were misled into Popish Superstition.
This and much more was offered by
Dr. *Heylyn*, as may be seen
more at large in his Life of *Page* 426.
the Archbishop. And a-
bout the same time he drew up a Pa-
per wherein he offered a mutual Con-
ference by select *Committees* between
the House of *Commons* and the Lower
House of *Convocation*: And this he did
that the *Representatives* of the Cler-
gy might give satisfaction to the *Com-
mons* in point of *Ceremonies*, and in
other matters relating to the Church,
if the motion was accepted; but if re-
fused, that they might gain the advan-
tage of Reputation among knowing
and wise persons. But the unhappy Dis-
solution of the Parliament prevented
all things of this nature: The news of
which was so unwelcome and amazing
to Dr. *Heylyn*, that being then busied

at the Election for the School at *Westminster*, the Pen fell out of his hand; and it was not without some difficulty before he could recollect his thoughts in the business about which he was engaged.

The *Convocation*, according to usual custom, had expired the next day after the Parliament, had not our Reverend man gone to *Lambeth*, and there displayed to the Archbishop the Kings necessities, and acquainted him with a precedent in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for granting *Subsidies* or a *Benevolence* by *Convocation* to be taxed and levied without help of Parliament. Upon which proposal the *Convocation* was adjourned till *Wednesday*, *May* 13. on which day the Bishops met in full *Convocation*, and a *Commission* was sent down to the *Lower-House*, dated *May* 12, which *enabled the Prelates and Clergy then Assembled to treat of, and conclude upon such Canons as they conceived necessary for the good of the Church*. The greatest part of the Clergy very

very much scrupled this matter, conceiving the *Convocation* to end with the Parliament. But our Reverend *Divine* being well skill'd in the Records of *Convocations*, shew'd the distinction between the *Writ*, for calling a Parliament, and that for assembling a *Convocation*; their different *Forms*, the independence of one upon the other, as also between the *Writ*, by which they were called to be a *Convocation*, to make *Canons* and do other business. He proved also, that although the *Commission* was expired with the Parliament, yet the *Writ* continued still in force; by which they were to remain a *Convocation* till they were Dissolved by another *Writ*. With this distinction he satisfied the greatest part of those who scrupled to sit after the Parliaments Dissolution. But the King proved the best *Casuist* in the case; who being acquainted with these scrupulosities, called the most learned in the Laws to consult about them; by whom it was

Archbishops Life, *page* 429.

determined, *That the Convocation being called by the Kings Writ, notwithstanding the Dissolution of the Parliament, was to be continued till it was Dissolved by the Kings Writ,* And this was subscribed by *Finch*, Lord Keeper, *Littleton* Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, *Banks*, Attorney-General, *Whitfield*, &c.

It will be too tedious to insert into these Papers all the Debates that were in this learned Assembly; most of them are to be seen in the Life of the Archbishop. Suffice it to acquaint the Leader, that few or none of those propositions which either concerned the Institution, Power, or Priviledges of Sovereign Kings, or related to the Episcopal Power, Doctrine, or Discipline of the *English* Church, but were either first proposed, or afterward drawn up by Dr. *Heylyn*, though he out of his great modesty and worth ascribes them to other persons. It was the Clerk of the Church of *Westminster*, who was placed

Page 430.

placed on purpose by the *Prolocutor* to speak last in the Grand *Committee* for the *Canon* of Uniformity, and to answer all such Arguments as had been brought against any of the Points proposed, and were not answered to his hand. It was he who made a proposition for one uniform Book of *Articles* to be used by all Bishops and Arch-deacons in Visitations, to avoid the confusion that happened in most parts of the Church for want of it; those *Articles* of the Bishops many times everting those of the Arch-Deacons, one Bishop differing from another, the Successors from the Predecessors, and the same person not consistent to those *Articles* which himself had published; by means whereof the people were much disturbed; the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity; unknown by reason of their uncertainty, and despised by reason of the inconstancy of those that made them. The motion back'd by these Reasons did so well please the *Prolocutor*, with the rest of the Clergy,

that they desired the Doctor in pursuit of his own project to undertake the Compiling of the said Book of *Articles*, and to present it to the House with all convenient speed. It was the same learned man who took into consideration the great Excesses and Abuses, which were crept in, and complained of Ecclesiastical Courts: the redress and Reformation of which Grievances, was brought within the compass of these seven Heads. 1. Concerning *Chancellors Patents, and how long their virtue was to continue.* 2. That *Chancellors were not alone to censure the Clergy in sundry cases.* 3. That *Excommunication and Absolution were not to be pronounced but by a Priest.* 4. Concerning *Commutations and the way of disposing of them.* 5. Concerning *Concurrent Jurisdictions.* 6. Concerning *Licences to Marry.* 7. Against *Vexatious Citations.* Some other things were proposed and designed, but never put in execution; there being intended an *English Pontifical*, which was to contain

tain the *Form* and *Manner* of the Coronation of King *Charles* I. and to ſerve as a ſtanding Rule to ſucceeding Ages on the like occaſions. Another Form to be obſerved by all Archbiſhops and Biſhops for conſecrating Churches, Church-yards and Chappels. And a third for reconciling ſuch *Penitents* as either had done open *Pennance*, or had revolted from the Faith of Chriſt to the Law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the Form of *Confirmation*, and that of ordering Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, (which were then in force) were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the troubles of the times increaſing, it was thought expedient to defer the proſecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. And yet notwithſtanding all the ſtorms that were then riſing, this excellent perſon went through the Book of *Articles*; the compiling of which gave no obſtruction to him from attending the ſervice of the *Committee* upon all occaſions. And for the better Authori-

zing of the *Articles*, he placed before every one of them in the Margin, the *Canon*, *Rubrick*, *Law*, *Injunction*, or other *Authentick* Evidence upon which they were grounded: Which being finished, were by him openly read in the House, and by the House approved and passed without any alteration; only that exegatical or explanatory clause in the fourth *Article* of the fourth *Chapter* touching the reading of the *Communion-Service* at the Lords Table, was desired by some to be omitted, which was done accordingly. Finally, it was Dr. *Heylyn* who proposed a *Canon* "for "enjoyning the said Book to be only "used in *Parochial Visitations*, for the "better settling of Uniformity in the "outward Government and Admini-"stration of the Church, and for pre-"venting of such just Grievances as "might be laid upon the Church-War-"dens and other sworn men by any im-"pertinent, inconvenient, or illegal *En-"quiries* in the *Articles* for *Ecclesiasti-"cal Visitations*.

Nei-

Neither were these the only Fruits of his labours and travels in this business; there being six Subsidies granted to the King; and the Bishops and Clergy in *Convocation* upon the 20th. of *May* received his Majesties Letters, Sealed with his Royal *Signet*, and attested by his *Sign* Manual, which required and authorized them to proceed in making *Synodical Constitutions* for levying of those Subsidies which had been before granted. And this was easily done, there being nothing to be altered but the changing of the name of *Subsidy* into that of *Benevolence*. *Friday, May* 29. the *Canons* were formally subscribed unto by the Bishops and Clergy, no one dissenting except the Bishop of *Glocester* (who died in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, and was all that part of his life in which he revolted from the Church of *England*, a dear Favourite and Servant of *Oliver Cromwel*, unto whom he dedicated some of his Books) for which he was voted worthy of Suspension by the

Convo-

Convocation, and was accordingly Suspended by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Which being done, the *Convocation* was dissolved.

Proceed we now from the *Active* to the more *Passive* part of Dr. *Heylyn's* life. For the Long Parliament, the Churches as well as the Kings Scourge, began to sit at *Westminster*, and a general Rumor was spread both in City and Country, that our Doctor being conscious to himself of many Crimes, durst not stand the brunt of their displeasure, and therefore had made use of his heels as his best weapons of defence; being run away out of a fear and foresight of an approaching storm. When these rumors were raised, he was at his Parsonage of *Alresford*, from whence he hastened with all convenient speed, confuting the Calumny, by shewing himself the very next day after his coming to *London* in his Gown and Tippet in *Westminster-Hall*. And upon a Vote passed in the House of Lords, that no Bishop should be of the *Committee*

mittee for the Preparatory Examinations in the Cause of the Earl of *Strafford*, under colour that they were excluded from acting in it by some antient *Canons*, as in cause of Blood, our learned *Divine* did thereupon draw up a brief Discourse, entituled, *De jure Paritatis Episcoporum* (now inserted in the Re-printed Volume of his Works) which he presented unto many of the Bishops to assert all their Rights of *Peerage* (and this of being of that *Committee* among the rest) which either by Law or antient custom did belong unto them.

The Parliament began their *Session Novemb.* 3. 1640. and upon the 9th. of *December* following, upon the Complaint of Mr. *Pryn*, our Doctor was called before the *Committee* of the Courts of Justice; who accosted him with that fierce fury, that no one could have withstood the Torrent, but one whose Soul was fortified with Innocence equal to his Courage. The Crime objected against him, was, that he had been

been a ſubſervient Inſtrument under the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* all the ſufferings of Mr. *Pryn*, having read the *Hiſtriomaſtix*, out of which he had furniſhed the Lords of the *Council* and many other perſons with matter to proceed againſt its Author. But our Doctor made a bold and juſt Defence for himſelf, telling his Accuſers, That the Task was impoſed upon him by Royal Authority, which he would readily prove, if they would have ſo much patience as to allow him time for that purpoſe. Great hopes they had to ſqueeze ſomething out of him concerning his being engaged in it by the Archbiſhop: but he was too wary to be enſnared by any of their Artifices, and being faithful to his Friend and Patron, was kept four days under Examination, ſuffering for the two firſt the brutiſh Rage of the People, more perhaps than St. *Paul* did at *Epheſus*; for that bleſſed man did not adventure himſelf amongſt thoſe Savages. But our poor Doctor was toſſed up and down by the fury

fury of an ungovern'd multitude, and railed at as he passed through them by their leud and ungoverned tongues. But God who sets bounds to the Waves of the proud Ocean, rebuked their rage, and rescued him from their malice.

But alas! what civility can be expected from the ill-bred Rabble unto Clergy-men, when they themselves like the Eagle in the *Greek Apologue* wound one another with Arrows feathered with their own Plumes. For four days after he had received order to appear before the *Committee*, he preach'd his turn in the *Abbey* at *Westminster*, and in the midst of his Sermon was insufferably affronted by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who knocking the Pulpit with his Staff, cried out aloud, *No more of that Point, No more of that Point*, Peter. This happened to the poor man in very ill circumstances, for it occasioned new clamours, and animated his enemies to proceed on with greater violence against him. But

notwithstanding all their united malice, he held out bravely, sending the whole passage of his Sermon as he designed to Preach it both to his Friends at *Court*, and Enemies in Parliament: and taking Sir *Robert Filmore*, with some other Gentlemen that were his Auditors, out of the Church along with him to his House, where he immediately sealed up his Sermon-Notes in their presence, they setting their Seals to them, that so there might not be the least Alteration in the Sermon, nor any ground to suspect it. Nay he made choice of one Mr. *White*, the fiercest man in the *Committee*, to be judg of the affront offered to him, desiring him in his Letter, " That he " would recommend him to the House " of Commons, that they might so far " take him into their protection, as " might consist with the Honor and Ju- " stice of their House; otherwise he " would rather chuse to put himself up- " on their Censure for a Contempt in " not appearing, than be again exposed

to

"to the fury of an outragious people, "whose malice is most merciless be-"cause most groundless: That after he "was dismissed from the *Committee*, he "was set upon by the rude and uncivil "Multitude with thrustings, justlings, "spurnings, and worse than that, with "such opprobrious and reviling lan-"guage, that as he never endured the "like before, so he was confident it "would add much to the esteem and "reputation of that honorable House, "if neither he nor any other honest "man do endure it more. And lastly, "whereas he was intertupted in his "Sermon by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and "thereupon might justly think that "there was some strange matter like "to follow, which might enforce him "to such an unusual course, therefore "he intreated him to accept of the "whole passage, as it should have been "spoken *verbatim* out of the original "Copy.

And the whole passage I shall here transcribe, as being that which may at

least gratifie the curiosity, if not inform the judgment of the Reader. "Such also should the correspondence "and affections be between the Mem- "bers and particular Assemblies of the "Church Militant; all which, though "many and of different natures, make "but one Body in the whole; and "therefore to be so affected each to o- "ther as the bodily members. Now "God hath so disposed the members in "the body natural, that they should "have the same care of one another; "and though they be of several quali- "ties, yet do endeavour the subsistence "of the whole *composition*, that so there "may be no Schism nor dangerous divi- "sion in the body of man. An excellent "*Item* unto us, to teach us our behaviour "to our Fellow-members in the Church "of Christ; that we aim all of us at "Gods glory, and the Churches peace, "raising no Schism, nor making any "Division in this blessed body. But "we alas! neglect this *Item*, and hear- "ken not to those instructions of peace

and

"and unity which every member of "the Body doth even preach unto us. "Men of dull ſpirits in the Lord, who "will not give an ear to his word and "works, when now the very fleſh is "become a preacher to them. How "comes it elſe to paſs, that in the very "Church of Chriſt there be almoſt as "many Schiſms as Nations; ſuch dif-"ferences not alone in points of Do-"ctrin, but alſo in the Forms of our "Devotions? The Chriſtian Church "divided into the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*: "the *Weſtern* into *Popiſh* and *Prote-"ſtant*: the *Proteſtant* into the *Luthe-"ran* and *Zuinglian*: the *Zuinglian* in-"to *Calviniſt* and *Remonſtant*. Not to "ſay any thing of any other Sects, or "Subdiviſions into the ſame Sects, "more dangerous though not ſo no-"table. And how comes this to paſs, "but that forgetting that we make to-"gether one Body only, we would "have every member be a ſeveral Bo-"dy, and thereby make our Savicur "Chriſt more monſtrous than the Gi-

"ant *Gerion*, and not to have three "Bodies only, but three hundred thou- "ſand.

"That ſo it is, who knows not that "knows any thing? But why it ſhould "be ſo we muſt ask our ſelves. Is it "not that we are ſo affected with our "own Opinions, that we condemn "whoever ſhall opine the contrary? "And ſo far wedded to our own wills, "that when we have eſpouſed a Quar- "rel, neither the Love of God, nor "the God of Love ſhall divorce us "from it? Inſtead of hearkening to the "voice of the Church, every man "hearkens to himſelf, and cares not if "the whole miſcarry ſo that himſelf "may bravely carry out his own de- "vices. Upon which ſtubborn height "of pride, what quarrels have been "rais'd! What Schiſms in every cor- "ner of this our Church! (to enquire "no further) ſome rather putting all "into open tumult, than that they "would conform to a lawful Govern- "ment derived from Chriſt and his A-

poſtles

"postles to these very "times. * Others com- "bining into close and "dangerous Factions, be- "cause some points of "Speculative Divinity are otherwise "maintained than they would have "them. All so regardless of the com- "mon peace, that rather than be quiet, "we will quarrel with our Blessed "Peace-maker for seeking to compose "the differences, though to the preju- "dice of neither party. Thus do we "foolishly divide our Saviour, and rent "his Sacred Body on the least occasi- "on; vainly conceiving that a diffe- "rence in point of Judgment must "needs draw after it a dis-jointing of "the affection also, and that conclude "at last in an open Schism. Whereas "diversity of Opinions if wisely man- "naged, would rather tend to the dis- "covery of the Truth, than the distur- "bance of the Church; and rather "whet our Industry than excite our "Passions. It was S. *Cyprian*'s Resolu-

* At these words the Bishop knock'd with his Staff on the Pulpit.

" tion, *Neminem, licet aliter sensérit*, à
" *communione amovere*; not to suspend
" any from the Churches Communi-
" on; although the matter then deba-
" ted was (as I take it) of more weight
" than any of the points now contro-
" verted. Which moderation, if the
" present age had attained unto, we
" had not then so often torn the
" Church in pieces, nor by our fre-
" quent broils offered that injury and
" inhumanity to our Saviours Body,
" which was not offered to his Gar-
" ments by those that Crucified him.

These were the feuds that passed between these two Clergy-men; and 'tis worthy of remark, that although both of them were at so wide a distance in the prosperous condition of the Church, yet there was a closure made when the heavy storm fell upon it. For a motion being offered by Dr. *Newel*, but coming originally from the Bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Heylyn*, with the privity and consent of the Archbishop paid the respects of a Visit to his Lordship

at

at his Lodging in *Westminster*, where he met rather with a ceremonious than a kind Reception. A short Recapitulation there was made of some past differences between them, and a proposal for atonement of all faults, *viz.* the calling in of the *Antidotum Lincoliense*, and that too by the Kings command. Unto which our Doctor answered, That it was Writ and Published by the Kings Command, and therefore it was improbable that he would call it in; however he would try all possible ways to give his Lordship satisfaction; and then presented to him his Papers about the *Peerage of Bishops*, which he then read over and approved. After this there was no more meeting between them, till about a year following the Doctor gave his Lordship a Visit in the *Tower*, which he received so kindly, that for ever after a fair correspondence passed interchangeably between them.

And the passage in the Sermon had as kindly an effect upon the *Committee*,

as his Visit had upon the Bishop. For he found those fierce Gentlemen, after the perusal of his Notes, much more favourable and respective than before. They demanded a Copy of the Charge which he drew up against Mr. *Pryn*, which being delivered, Mr. *Pryn* accused him of Libelling and Preaching against him; for proof of which he produced in Court some of the Doctor's Books, urging many passages out of them; but all concluded nothing. That which was at last most insisted on was a Sermon Preach'd some years before Mr. *Pryn*'s Censure in the *Star-Chamber* before his Majesty. But the sense of his past dangers before the *Committee* was in some measure recompenc'd by this days mirth and jollity. For Mr. *Pryn* resolving effectually to damnifie the Doctor, produced a company of *Butchers* to bring in Evidence against him about a Sermon formerly Preach'd by him. And after the Testimony of these great Criticks had been mannag'd to the best advantage of Raillery and Mirth,

Mirth, the Criminal was favourably dismissed and never more called before them. 'Tis true, many attempts were made to create him new Disturbances, some being employed to make a severe inquisition into his Life and Manners, which they found too spotless for their spleen and malice. Others engaged his Neighbours at *Alresford* to draw up *Articles* against him; which was accordingly done by two of them, and few others of the most inconsiderable Inhabitants; who were prevailed on to make their Marks (for Write they could not) by telling them it was a business, in which the Town were very much concerned. But when the *Articles* were produced before the *Committee*, they appeared so foolish and frivolous, as not to be deemed worthy of consideration, and upon that were returned to be amended upon a *Melius Inquirendum:* and this being done in a more correct and enlarg'd Edition, they were again return'd to the *Committee*, and a set day was appointed for a

Hearing: And that being come, the Complaint was put off *sine die*, and a Copy of the *Articles* delivered to the person accused, together with those newly put in against him by Mr. *Pryn*, collected out of his Printed Books. But the poor Doctor being quite tir'd with Business and Attendance, obtained leave of the *Chair-man* to retire into the Country, who freely promised to send a private Messenger to him, if there were any occasion for his return. Upon which he removed his Study to *Alresford*, setting his House for no more than 3 *l.* a year, with a purpose never more to come back to *Westminster*, whilst those two incomparable Friends remained in it, *viz.* the *House of Commons*, and Bishop of *Lincoln*. At his coming to *Alresford* the people were amazed to see him, having been persuaded that they should never more fix eye on him, unless they took a journey to a Goal or a Gallows.

About this time it was that Doctor *Hacwel* taking advantage of the innumerable

merable troubles and enemies of this learned man, publish'd a Book against him concerning the Sacrifice of the *Eucharist*. It was not without some difficulty that he obtained one of them to be sent to him in the Country, where he wrote a speedy Answer to it. But Dr. *Hackwel's* Friends thought fit to call in the Book, so soon as it first came into light; and then our Doctor was easily persuaded to suppress his Answer, diverting his Studies to more pleasing and no less necessary subjects, *viz.* The *History of Episcopacy*, and the *History of Liturgies*. The first was Printed presently after it was written, and Presented to the King by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, and Published under the name of *Theophilus Churchman*; but the other, although sent to *London*, and received by the Bookseller, was not Printed till some years after.

For now there was more employment found out for the Sword than the Pen, the noise of *Bellona* and *Mars* silencing the Laws of God and Men;

and

and Christians conceiving it their duty rather to spill the Blood of their Country-men for Religion, than to part with one drop out of their own veins, and to plunder the Goods of their Neighbours than to *endure the spoiling* of their own. Sir *Will. Waller* sent eight of his Soldiers to be quartered at the Doctors house, with full Commission to strip him naked of all he had: But his fair and affable carriage towards them did so mollifie the Austerity of their natures, that they quite dismissed all thoughts of violence and revenge: So were *Esau*'s bloody resolutions quite converted into kindness and respect by the humble deportment as well as noble presents that were made to him by his Brother *Jacob*. But notwithstanding the Diversion of this storm, the Reverend man was early the next morning brought before Sir *William* by his *Provost-Marshal*, by whom he was told that he had received Commands from the Parliament to seize upon him, and send him Prisoner

unto

unto *Portsmouth*. The Doctor had the like privilege with St. *Paul*, being permitted to plead for himself, and by his powerful reasoning did so far prevail upon the *General*, as to be dismissed back to his house in safety. But prudently fore-seeing that this would only be a Reprieve till a further mischief, within a few days he left *Hampshire* and went to *Oxon*; where he no sooner arrived, but he received his Majesties Commands by the *Clerk* of his *Closet* to address himself to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, from whom he was to take directions for some special and important Service; which was at last signified to Dr. *Heylyn* under the Kings own hand, *viz.* to write the *Weekly Occurrences* which befel his Majesties Government and Armies in the unnatural War that was raised against him. The Reverend Man was hugely unwilling to undertake the employment, conceiving it not only somewhat disagreeable to the Dignity and Profession that he had in the Church, and directly thwarting

ting his former Studies and Contemplations; but that by a faithful discharge of his Duty in that Service, he should expose both his Family and himself to the implacable malice of those persons, whose very mercies were Cruelty and Blood. But no Arguments or Intercessions could prevail to have him excused from that Employment, at least for some time, till he had made it facile by his own diligence and example. Neither were dangers or difficulties of any moment with him, when the Service of his Prince and Master required his Labours and Assistance. *Discere à peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere ob jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius & intentus agere,* is a Character as truly applicable to Dr. *Heylyn*, as to the brave *Roman* of whom it was first written. For he desired no employment out of vain-glory, and refused none out of fear, but equally was careful and intent in whatever he undertook; and

Tacit. in Vit. Jul. Agr.

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at that time too, when he was denied the poor *Deanery* of *Chichester*, for which his Majesty was earnestly importuned in his behalf by Mr. *Secretary Nicholas*. The *Weekly Occurrences* that were wrote by him, he called by the name of *Mercurius Anglicus*; which name continued as long as the Cause did for which it was written. And besides these weekly Tasks, being influenced by the same Royal Commands, he writ divers other Treatises, before he could obtain his *Quietus est* from that ungrateful Employment, *viz.* 1. *A Relation of the Lord* Hopton's *Victory at* Bodwin. 2. *A View of the Proceedings in the West for Pacification.* 3. *A Letter to a Gentleman in* Leicestershire *about the Treaty.* 4. *A Relation of the Queens Return from* Holland, *and the Seizing of* Newark. 5. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir* John Gell. 6. *The Black Cross*, shewing that the *Londoners* were the cause of the present Rebellion, with some others that were never Printed.

These

These zealous services produced the very same effect, that he foresaw when he first undertook them. For in the space of six months, he was voted a *Delinquent* in the *House of Commons*; this being given for a reason, *viz.* that he resided and lived at *Oxon*. Upon which, an Order was sent to the *Committee* at *Portsmouth* to Sequester his whole Estate and seize upon all his Goods. And *Reading* being taken by the Earl of *Essex*, a free and easie passage was opened for the Execution of those unrighteous Decrees. For in a short space after, his Corn, Cattle and Money were taken by one Captain *Watts*, and all his Books carried to *Portsmouth*. Colonel *Norton*'s hand being set to the Warrant of his Sequestration, he twice Petition'd to have some Reparation out of his Estate; but was denied the first time, and put off in a more Courtly manner the last. Before he left *Alresford*, he took care to hide some of his choicest and most costly Goods, designing the first opportunity

to

to have them conveyed to *Oxon*. But either by ill luck, or the treachery and baseness of some of his Neighbours, the Cart with all the Goods were taken by part of *Nortons* Horse, and carried to *Portsmouth*; himself also violently pursued, and by Divine Providence delivered from the snare of those Fowlers, who thirsted after his Blood and lay in wait for his Life. The Cart with all contained in it was carried to *Southampton*, and delivered unto *Norton* (Saintship then being the ground of Propriety, as it afterward was of Sovereignty.) A loss great in it self, but much more so to a poor *Divine*; and chiefly to be ascribed to a *Colonel* in the King's Army, who denied to send a Convoy of Horse for the guarding of his Goods, although the Marquess of *Newcastle* gave Order for it. And these Oppressions which he suffered from his Enemies were increased by as unjust proceedings of those who ought to have been his Friends. For part of the Royal Army defaced his Parsonage-House at

Alres-

Alresford, making it unhabitable and taking up all the Tithes; for which he never had the least satisfaction, unless it was the Manumission of himself from the troublesome Employment under Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, and at his going off, at the request of that worthy Gentleman, he writ a little Book called *The Rebels Catechism*.

Being thus dismissed from business so disagreeable to his *Genius*, he found leisure to employ his Contemplative thoughts about subjects more weighty and serious. And having obeyed the Commands of his Superiors, he endeavoured to satisfie the doubts of his Friends; and particularly of one whose thoughts were confusedly perplexed about our *Reformation*. And to do this, he drew up a Discourse in answer to that common but groundless Calumny of the Papists, who brand the Religion of our Church with the nickname of that which is *Parliamentary*. But our Reverend Doctor Demonstrates in that Book how little, or indeed

deed nothing the Parliament acted in the *Reformation*. For some years indeed that are past, there have been *Parliaments* that have had a *Committee* for Religion, which is to have an Apostolical care of all the Churches. And our Reverend Doctor observes that this custom was first introduced into the House of *Commons*, when the Divinity-School in *Oxon* was made the Seat of their Debates. For the *Speaker* being placed in or near the *Chair* in which the Kings *Professor* of Divinity did usually read his publick Lectures and moderate in all publick Disputations, they were put into a conceit, that the determining in all Points and Controversies in Divinity did belong to them. As *Vibius Rufus* having married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæsar*'s Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the Power of the other. For, after this we find no Parliament without a *Committee*

Observations on the History of the Reign of K. *Charles*, 34.

mittee for Religion, and no *Committee* for Religion but what did think it self sufficiently instructed to mannage the greatest Controversies in Divinity which were brought before them: And with what success to the Religion here by Law Established, we have seen too clearly.

——*Tractent fabrilia fabri.*

Let things of a spiritual nature in the name of God be debated and determined by Spiritual persons. Doctrinal matters are proper for the cognizance of a *Convocation*, not of a *Committee*; which does often consist of wise men, but the common Title given to * some of them, does at least prove that those wise men are not always either the best Christians or greatest Clerks.

* Committee of Affections.

Neither were these things the only Subjects of the vast mind and contemplative thoughts of this great man. For toward the latter end of this year (being 1644.) he Presented to his Majesty

jesty a Paper containing the Heads of a Discourse writ by him, called, *The Stumbling-block of Disobedience removed*—in answer to and examination of the two last Sections in Mr. *Calvins Institutions*, against Sovereign Monarchy. The Lord *Hatton*, the Bishop of *Sarum*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and Dr. *Steward* perused the whole Treatise; and the King approving of the Contents, commanded the Lord *Digby* further to consider the Book, in whose hands it did for a long time rest; neither was it made publick till about ten years after the War was ended.

In the beginning of the year 1645. he left *Oxon*, and went into *Hampshire*, settling himself and Family at *Winchester*; *Alresford* with all the rest of his Preferments being taken from him, and having nothing to subsist upon besides his own Temporal Estate. And yet even now the exuberancy of an honest zeal (that I may use his own words though upon another occasion) carried him rather to the maintenance of his

Brethrens and the Churches Cause, than to the preservation of his own peace and particular contentments. And therefore considering unto what a deplorable condition the poor Loyal Clergy were reduced, how they were *hungry and thirsty*, and their *souls* ready to *faint in them*; as also how the Parliament were about to establish those *Presbyterian* Ministers for term of life in those Livings, out of which himself and many others were ejected, he drew up some *Considerations*, and presented them to some Members of the House of *Commons*, to see whether he could move them to any Christian Charity and Compassion. And they are so clear and convincing, that they would have prevailed upon any; but those that were made up all of Guts, but no Bowels. They are these that follow.

1. "The Clergy which were sequa-
"strated in the time of the Long Par-
"liament, were charged for the most
"part with no other Crime, than their
adhæ-

"adhæsion to the late King in the long "course of his Troubles; which many "of them did in gratitude for Prefer-"ments received; others in relation to "their services and personal Duties; "and all as I conceive out of consci-"ence of that Loyalty and Allegiance, "in which by their several Oaths and "Subscriptions they were bound to "him.

2. "Sequestration is in Law no o-"ther than a suspension *à Beneficio*, de-"priving a man only of the profits, "not of the rights of his Incumbency; "nor leaving him in an incapacity in returning to those profits again, upon "the taking off of the Sequestration, "or Suspension, which in the intend-"ment of the Law is reckoned only "for a temporary, no perpetual punish-"ment.

3. "The persons put into those Be-"nefices have been ever since looked "upon but as Curates, not as Proprie-"taries of those Livings; and in the "wisdom of the Parliament were con-

"sidered but as Tenants at will, or
"*quamdiu benè se gesserint* at the best;
"the power of presenting to those Li-
"vings upon the death or deprivation
"of the right Incumbent, being left
"wholly to the Patron, as by Law it
"ought; which kept those Ministers
"(for the most part Presbyterian) in a
"continual obnoxiousness to the Com-
"mands and Will of that Parliament,
"to which they were very useful on all
"occasions.

4. "The Bill now brought into the
"House for settling those new Mini-
"sters for term of life, hath many
"things which seem worthy of conside-
"ration, as carrying in it many disad-
"vantages to parties interessed therein,
"and something prejudicial to the pub-
"lick peace: For,

1. "It deprives the right Patron
"of his lawful power of nominating
"to those Livings, descended to him
"from his Ancestors, or purchased
"by his money; and consequently
"settled on him in as strong a way,
"as

"as the eſtabliſhed Laws of the "Land could confirm the ſame.

2. "It deſtroys many a learned, "peaceable and Religious man with-"out hope of remedy; but ſerves "withal for a great juſtification of "their Innocence, when for want of "Crime to proceed upon, and lega-"lity in their conviction, the power "of the legiſlative Sword is fain to "be made uſe of to effect the buſi-"neſs.

3. "It ſubverts thoſe ends for "which thoſe men were firſt put in-"to their Livings; who being ſet-"tled in the ſame for term of life by "Act of Parliament, and following "the impetuoſity of their own ſpi-"rits, will be apt when time and "opportunity ſerves, to let fly all "their fury at the preſent Govern-"ment, as they did formerly at the "other in the late Kings Reign. And "though it be conceiv'd by ſome, "that the Ordinance for ejecting "ſcandalous Miniſters will be curb

"sufficient to hold them in, yet I find
"no such thing as turbulent and fa-
"ctious Preachings to be specified a-
"mongst the scandals which are
"therein enumerated.

5. "Whereas it is intended that the
"Minister thus deprived shall have a
"*Fifth* part of the Profits of the Li-
"ving, if he be not otherwise provi-
"ded of some temporal means suffici-
"ent to maintain himself and Family,
"I conceive with all submission to bet-
"ter Judgments, that the said limitati-
"on will be occasion of much trouble
"to the men deprived, if it doth not
"quite overthrow the benefit intended
"to them; that being a sufficient means
"for one man which is not for another,
"with reference to their Degrees, Fa-
"milies and ways of Living: whereas
"to these new-comers in the profits of
"the Living will be always certainly
"sufficient with an *Over-plus*, if we
"measure by that Standard wherewith
"they make others; it being no un-
"usual thing in some of that Party to
tell

"tell the sequestred Clergy, when they "sued for their *Fifths*; *That it was* "*sufficient for them to be suffered to live.* "And then assuredly

—*Populo satis est Fluviusq; Ceresque.*

"It will be accounted a high degree of "sufficiency (if not of superfluity ra-"ther) that they have wherewithal to "buy themselves a morsel of Bread and "a cup of cold Water.

And accordingly as this Reverend Person foretold, so it came to pass. For when the *Presbyterian Intruders* were settled in the Benefices of the Sequestred Clergy for term of life, although the *Commissioners* for *Rejecting of Scandalous Ministers* had power to grant a *Fifth* part, together with the Arrears thereof to the Ejected Clergy, yet the *Bill* was clogg'd with two such circumstances, as made it unuseful to some and but a little beneficial to the rest. For first it was ordered that no man should receive any benefit by the

Bill,

Bill, who had either 30 *l. per ann.* in *Real*, or 500 *l.* in *Personal* Estate: By means whereof many who had formerly 500 *l.* yearly to maintain their Families, were tied up to so poor a pittance, as would hardly keep their Children from begging in the open Streets. And 2dly. There was such a power given to the *Commissioners*, that not exceeding the *Fifth* part, they might give to the poor Sequestred Clergy as much and as little as they pleased, under that proportion. And the * Doctor instances in one of his certain knowledg, who for an Arrear of 12 years out of a Benefice Rented formerly for 250 *l, per ann.* obtained but 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* (the first Intruder being then alive and possessed of the Benefice) and no more than 20 *Marks per ann.* for his future subsistence; which is but a *Nineteenth* part instead of a *Fifth*.

* Exam. Hist. p. 111.

Not long after which Oppressions, the *Intruders* themselves were in as immi-

imminent danger to be deveſted of all their maintenance, as the Loyal Clergy, who had ſuffered the utmoſt extremity of Cruelty and Injuſtice. For *Tithes* being repreſented as a *Publick Grievance* in the *Rump-Parliament*, the Gentry were in a fair way to be deprived of their *Impropriations*, and the *Preſbyterians* themſelves of their Patrimony. And although our Reverend *Doctor* paid *Tithes* himſelf, and therefore had no Obligations to appear in the defence of them for private Ends or Intereſts, yet for the upholding of the common Chriſtianity and ſome kind of ſtanding Miniſtry in the Nation, he endeavoured in a modeſt and rational way the *undeceiving of the people* in that particular. For whereas it was objected

1. That the maintenance allowed the Clergy was *too great for their Calling*; He ſhewed that *never any Clergy in the Church of God hath been, or is maintained with leſs charge to the Subject, than the Eſtabliſhed Clergy of the Church of* England. 2. Where-

2. Whereas it was objected that their *Maintenance was made up out of the Tenth part of each mans estate*; He demonstrated, *That there is no man in the Realm of* England, *who pays any thing of his own toward the Maintenance of his Parish-Minister, but his Easter-Offerings.*

3. Whereas it is suggested, That the *changing of this way by the payment of Tithes into Stipends,* would be more *grateful to the Country, and more ease to the Clergy*; He proved, *That the changing of Tithes into Stipends would bring greater trouble to the Clergy, than is yet considered, and far less profit to the Country, than was then pretended.* So zealous was this excellent person, not only for his Friends and Fellow-sufferers, *viz.* the poor oppressed and ejected Clergy; but for his very enemies the *Intruders,* that had Preach'd the King out of his Life, and himself and Brethren out of all their Livelihoods and Preferments. And at that time too his zeal appeared, when he was by a small

tem-

temporal Eſtate incapacitated to receive the leaſt benefit by any Act of Mercy that could accrue to him by his labours in that particular: Nay had the project of *removing Hirelings out of the Church* (as it was then phraſed) taken effect, Doctor *Heylyn*'s Eſtate would have received conſiderable improvements and advantages. For which he was fain to compound with the *Committee-men* in *Goldſmiths-Hall* in the year 1645. But he has left no memorial of what he paid to thoſe inſatiable Leeches and Oppreſſors. However he ſped well, as the caſe ſtood with him. For being (as was before obſerved) voted a *Delinquent*, the Parliament marked him out for an Oblation, reſolving, that whenever they could get *Heylyn* into their ſnares, who had been an inſtrument of ſo much miſchief to them, his Blood ſhould appeaſe their Fury, and expiate his own Guilts. But being at the Siege at *Oxon*, he ſhared with the *Royaliſts* in the common benefit of thoſe *Articles*, that were made

at

at the ſurrender of that City; and by that means ſaved his Life, as well as his Eſtate.

Anno Dom. 1648. he ſettled himſelf and Family at *Minſter-Lovel* in *Oxfordſhire*. And although he had loſt his Library (which for choiceneſs of Authors was inferior to few Clergy-mens in *England*) and therefore might well be deemed unfit to write Books for others, when he was robb'd of his own; yet he would not permit his own private *Oeconomicks* to ſwallow up his precious minutes, but endeavoured to benefit his Country, and to divert his mind from the ſad complexion of the times, by enlarging his *Geography* into a *Coſmography*; which as it now remains perfected by him, may be truly averr'd to be a Repoſitory of as much uſeful and delightful Learning, as any publiſhed either in that preſent, or in preceding Ages. It is true many material Errors were juſtly charged upon it, when it was a *Geography*, but his own Apology is more powerful than any can be made

in

in his behalf; "for being "writ in an Age, on "which the pride of "Youth and Self-opinion might have "some predominancies, I thought it "freer from mistakes than since I have "found it: and those mistakes by run-"ning through eight Editions (six of "them without my perusal or supervi-"sing) so increased and multiplied, that "I could no longer call it mine, or look "upon it with any tolerable degree of "patience.

Preface to the *Cosmography.*

If it be said, that as 'tis now completed by him, he has as well run into new Errors, as corrected the old ones; it may be so too. For those humane Abilities are yet to be named, that were in all things governed by an infallible Spirit. And no man that is not so guided, can plead the privilege of not being liable to mistakes. But his own words are the most satisfactory answer to this objection. "I must have been a "greater Traveller than either the "*Greek Ulysses*, or the *English Mande-*

vil,

Certam. Epist. 369.

" *ville*, all *Purchase* his
" *Pilgrims*, many of out
" late *Jesuites* and *Tom Coriot* into the
" bargain, if in describing of the whole
" world, with all the Kingdoms, Pro-
" vinces, Seas and Isles thereof, I had
" not relied more on the Credit of
" others, than any knowledg of my
" own. But if any Gentleman, Mer-
" chant, or other Traveller shall please
" to let me understand in what those
" Authors, which I trusted, have mis-
" informed me, let it be done in jest or
" earnest, in love or anger, in a fair man-
" ner or a foul, with respect or dis-re-
" spect unto me, in what way soever, I
" shall most thankfully receive the In-
" structions from him, and give him the
" honour of the Reformation, when
" that Book shall come out in another
" Edition. I will neither kick against
" those who rub upon such sores as I
" have about me, nor fling dirt on them
" who shall take the pains to bestow a
" brushing on my Coat. I was trained
" up, when I was a Child, to kiss the
Rod,

"Rod, and I can do it, I thank God, "now I am a man.

Cur nescire pudens pravæ quam discere mallem?

"Rather to be ashamed of mistaking "in any thing I have written, than to "learn of any body what I was to "write, was taken by me both for a "Rule and a Resolution in the first put-"ting out of my *Geography*, and I shall "be at the very same pass to the very "last.

In the year 1653. he removed to *Lacies-Court* in *Abingdon*. For being "robb'd of his choicest Companions, his Books; he resolved to fix himself as near as possibly he could to *Oxford*; loss of time, together with the charge and trouble of a Journey, rendring his Visits less frequent to the *Bodleian* Library, than would well comport with his condition. For although he was a *Living Library*, *a Locomotive*

As *Euscapius* said of *Longinus*.

Study, a Scribe fully instructed in the Kingdom of God, a Housholder that could bring out of his Treasury things both new and old, yet for all that he resolved to continue a laborious Searcher after Wisdom, and gave his Flesh no rest, that he might entertain his mind with the noblest Contemplations: neither would he fix his thoughts upon notional and useless Speculations, but whenever he could by any kind of labour either of Body or Brain be really serviceable to the just Interests of his Prince or Church, he refused no pains or expences, but would undergo (to others) the most unsupportable burthens, to testifie his zealous affection unto both. One instance of which is evident in what he contributed to Saint *Nicholas* Church in *Abingdon*, the utter demolishing of which was resolved on by the Sacrilegious Schismaticks of those times.

The then *Usurping Powers* had by the severest *Edicts* solemnly interdicted the Regular Clergy, the discharge of

of their publick Miniſtry in the ſacred Offices of Religion: Nay they were forbid the teaching and inſtructing of Youth in all private houſes, though they wanted the neceſſaries of Humane Life for themſelves and Families. In which ſad proſpect of Affairs, our *Divine* built a private *Oratory*, where he had frequency of *Synaxes*; the *Liturgy* of the Church being daily read by him, and the Holy *Euchariſt* adminiſtred as often as opportunity gave leave; many devout and well-affected perſons, after the manner of the Primitive Chriſtians when they lived under Heathen perſecutions, reſorting to his little Chappel, that there they might wreſtle with the Almighty for his bleſſing upon themſelves, and upon a divided infatuated people. But in a few years, the rage of the *Higher Powers* abating, the *Liturgy* of the Church began in ſome places to be publickly read; and Mr. *Huiſh* (then Miniſter in *Abingdon*) had a numerous Auditory of Loyal perſons, who frequented publick Prayers

at St. *Nicholas*; which became so greatly offensive to the Factious party, that they laboured all they could to have the Church raz'd to its very Foundations: But notwithstanding the Authority which then ruled, God rendred the endeavours of Dr. *Heylyn* and some other *Royallists* successful in the preservation of his own house. And because Mr. *Huish* either out of a principle of prudence or fear had for some time whilst those contests continued, desisted from performing the sacred Offices of Religion, therefore our Doctor to animate him unto the performance of his Duty, sent him the following Letter after his return from *London*, where he had been soliciting in the common Cause of the Church, which was to have been laid even with the ground.

SIR,

"We are much beholden to you for "your chearful condescending unto our "desires, so for as to the Lords-days "Service; which though it be *Opus Diei*

" *Diei in Die suo*, yet we cannot think
", our selves to be fully masters of our
" requests, till you have yielded to be-
" stow your pains on the other days al-
" so. We hope in reasonable time to al-
" ter the condition of Mr. *Blackwel*'s
" pious Gift, that without hazzarding
" the loss of his Donation, which
" would be an irrecoverable blow unto
" this poor Parish, you may sue out
" your *Quietus est* from that daily At-
" tendance, unless you find some fur-
" ther motives and inducements to per-
" suade you to it: yet so to alter it, that
" there shall be no greater wrong done
" to his Intentions, than to most part
" of the Founders of each University,
" by changing Prayers for the Souls
" first by them intended, into a Com-
" memoration of their Bounties as was
" practised. All dispositions of this
" kind must vary with those changes
" which befal the Church, or else be
" alienated and estranged to other pur-
" poses. I know it must be some dis-
" couragement to you to read to Walls,

" or to pray in publick with so thin a
" company, as hardly will amount to
" a Congregation: But withal I desire
" you to consider, that *magis* and *minus*,
" all *Logicians* say, do not change the
" *Species* of things; that Quantities of
" themselves are of little efficacy (if at
" all of any) and that he who promised
" to be in the midst of two or three
" when they meet together in his
" name, hath clearly shewed, that
" even the smallest Congregations shall
" not want his presence. And why
" then should we think much to bestow
" our pains where he vouchsafes his
" presence? or think our labour ill be-
" stowed, if some few only do partake
" of the present benefit? And yet no
" doubt the benefit extends to more than
" the parties present: For you know
" well that the Priest or Minister is not
" only to pray with, but for the peo-
" ple; that he is not only to offer up
" the peoples Prayers to Almighty God,
" but to offer up his own Prayers for
" them; the benefit whereof may cha-
ritably

"ritably be presumed to extend to, as
"well as it was intended for, the ab-
"sent also. And if a whole Nation may
"be represented in a Parliament of
"400 persons, and they derive the
"Blessings of Peace and Comfort upon
"all the Land, why may we not con-
"ceive that God will look on three or
"four of this little Parish, as the *Re-*
"*presentative* of the whole, and for
"their sakes extend his Grace and Bles-
"sings unto all the rest; that he who
"would have saved that sinful City
"of *Sodom*, had he found but ten
"righteous persons in it, may not
"vouchsafe to bless a less sinful people
"upon the Prayers of a like or less
"number of Pious and Religious per-
"sons. When the High Priest went in-
"to the *Sanctum Sanctorum* to make
"Atonement for the Sins of the Peo-
"ple, went he not thither by himself?
"none of the people being suffered to
"enter into that place. Do not we read,
"that when *Zacharias* offered up In-
"cense, which figured the Prayers of

" the Saints within the Temple, the
" people waited all that while in the
" outward Courts? Or find we any
" where that the Priest, who offered
" up the daily Sacrifice (and this comes
" nearest to our Case) did ever intermit
" that Office by reason of the slackness
" or indevotion of the people in repai-
" ring to it? But you will say *There is*
" *a Lion in the way*, there is danger in
" it. Assuredly I hope none at all; or
" if any, none that you would care for.
" The Sword of the *Committee* had as
" sharp an edg, and was managed
" with as strong a malice, as any Or-
" dinance of later *Date* can impower
" men with. Having so fortunately e-
" scaped the danger of that, why
" should you think of any thing but
" despising this? as *Tully* did unto
" *Mark Antonie, Catilinæ Gladios con-*
" *tempsi, non timebo tuos.* Why may you
" not conclude with *David* in the like
" sense and apprehensions of Gods pre-
" servation, that he who saved him
" from the Bear and the Lion, would
also

"also save him from the Sword of that "railing *Philistine*. And you may see "that the Divine Providence is still a-"wake over that poor Remnant of "the Regular and Orthodox Clergy, "which have not yet bowed their knees "to the *Golden Calves* of late erected, "by putting so unexpectedly a hook "into the nostrils of those *Leviathans* "which threatned with an open mouth "to devour them all. I will not say "as *Clemens* of *Alexandria* did in a "case much like that, it is ἄνδυδεον τὶ, "to indulge too much to apprehensi-"ons of this nature in matters which "relate to Gods publick Service. All "I shall add is briefly this, that ha-"ving presented you with these Consi-"derations, I shall with greediness ex-"pect the sounding of the Bell to mor-"row morning; and in the mean time "make my Prayers to Almighty God "so to direct you in this business, as "may be most for his Glory, your "own particular Comfort, and the "good of this people: with which ex-

pressi-

"pressions of my Soul, I subscribe "my self,

Your most affectionate Friend and Brother in Christ Jesus

Peter Heylyn.

Upon the receipt and reading of this Letter, Mr. *Huish* betook himself to his wonted duty, reading the Churches Prayers with that frequency, gravity and devotion as became a man of his Reverence and Profession.

And the daily visits which were paid by our Doctor to the place of Gods publick Worship, the better enabled him as well to undergo the severity of Study, as to contend with the hardships of Fortune. And amongst the products of his Studies, the *Theologia Veterum* or Exposition of the Apostles *Creed* does first merit our Commendations. Indeed many other Books were written by him, when the King and Church were in their low and calamitous condition;

dition; ſome of which were *Hiſtorical* relating to matters of *Fact*; ſome *Political*, relating to the power of Princes and various Forms of Government; and laſtly others *Theological*; and thoſe either *Didactical*, tending to the ſettling and informing of mens underſtandings; or *Practical*, that conduced to the amending of their manners; or *Polemical*, that vindicated the Truths of God and Unity of his Church againſt the Errors, Schiſms and Perſecutions of its Enemies, whether *Papiſts*, *Socinians*, or *Diſciplinarians*. His Book upon the *Creed* is a mixture of all theſe excellent Ingredients; inſomuch that whoever would be acquainted with the Sence of the *Greek* and *Latine* Fathers upon the Twelve *Articles* of our Faith, as alſo with *Poſitive*, *Polemical* and *Philological Theology*, he will not find either his labour loſt, or his time miſpended, if he peruſe what our learned *Doctor* has writ upon that Subject.

But neither Learning or Innocency are a ſufficient ſafe-guard againſt the Aſſaults

assaults of mischievous and malicious men; many of whom combined together to render Dr. *Heylyn* as infamous in his Name, as they had before made him improsperous in his Estate. And to that purpose they used their utmost endeavours to have one of his Books burned (called *Respondet Petrus*) by an Order from *Olivers Council-Table*. For Dr. *N. Bernard* Preacher of *Grays-Inn* putting out a Book, entituled, *The Judgment of the Lord Primate of* Ireland, *&c.* our Reverend *Doctor* being therein accused for violating his Subscription and running cross to the publick Doctrine of the Church of *England*; as also being taxed with Sophistry, Shamelesness, and some other things which he could not well endure either from the *Dead*, or the *Living*, he returned an Answer to it, against which, *Articles* were presently formed and presented to the then *Council-Table*; and the common Rumor went, that the Book was publickly burnt: A fame (as the * Doctor

* *Certam Epist.* 100.

Doctor ſays) that had little truth in it, though more colour for it, than many other charges which had been laid upon him. He was in *London*, when he received the firſt notice of it; and though he was perſuaded by his friends to neglect the matter, as that which would redound to his honour, and knew very well what Sentence had been paſſed by *Tacitus* upon the Order of *Senate*, or *Roman Conſul* for burning the Books of *Cremutius Cordus* the *Hiſtorian*, *Neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eâdem ſævitiâ uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi atque illis gloriam peperere*, *i. e.* they gained nothing but ignominy to themſelves and glory to all thoſe whoſe Books they burnt; yet our Doctor was rather in that particular of Sir *John Falſtaff*'s mind, not liking ſuch grinning honour; and therefore rather choſe to prevent the Obloquy, than boaſt in it. To which purpoſe he applied himſelf to the Lord Mayor of *London* and a great Man in the *Council* of

Tacit. An. lib. 4.

of *State*, and receiving from them a true information of what had passed, he left his Solicitude, being quite freed from all fear and danger.

About this time it was that the King, Church and Church-men were arraigned and traduced by many voluminous Writers of the Age; and the Doctor being solicited to answer them by Letters, Messages and several personal Addresses, by men of all Orders and Dignities in the Church, and of all Degrees in the Universities, was at last overcome by their Importunities; the irresistible Intreaties of so many Friends having something in them of Commands. And the first Author, whose Mistakes, Falsities and Defects he examined, was Mr. *Thomas Fuller* the *Church-Historian*, who intermingling his *History* with some dangerous Positions, which if reduced into practice, would overthrow the Power of the *Church*, and lay a probable Foundation for Disturbances in the *Civil-State*; the Doctor made some *Animadversions* on him by way

way of *Antidote*, that so, if possible, he might be read without danger. Another was Mr. *Sanderson*'s long *History* of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* I. whose errors being of that nature as might mis-guide the Reader in the way of Knowledg and Discourse, our *Doctor* rectified him with some *Advertisements*, that so he might be read with the greater profit. It would swell these Papers into too great a bulk, if I should give a particular account of the Contests that this Reverend man had with Mr. *Harington*, Mr. *Hickman*, and Mr. *Baxter*; the last of which was so very bold as to disgorge himself upon the whole Clergy of *England* in his *Grotian* Religion, *which caused* in our Doctor, (as he tells his Brethren the old Regular Clergy) *so great an horror and amazement, that he could not tell whether or no he could give any credit to his Senses; the words sounding loud in his ears and not sinking at first into his heart*. Neither Did Mr. *Baxter* arraign

Epist. Ded. before *Cert. Epist.*

raign the whole Clergy in general, but more particularly directed his Spleen against Dr. *Heylyn*; whose name he *wish'd* afterwards *he had spared*. But it was whilst he was living; he has made more bold with him since he was dead; and that for no other reason (that I can learn) but for exposing the Follies, Falshoods, and uncharitableness of a daring and rash Writer, who never returned one word of Answer (besides Railing and Reproaches) unto what our *Doctor* Published against him.

And having made mention of these Authors, against whom our excellent Doctor appeared in the Lists, it may not perhaps be deemed unacceptable to those Readers who are either unable to buy, or unwilling to read the Books written against them, to transcribe some particular passages which may be a farther testification of the zeal of this great Scholar for the King and Church.

And the first (relating to the King) shall be about the *Coronation*; it being a piece

a piece of new *State-Doctrine*, that the *Coronation* of the King ſhould depend upon the conſent of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. For in the Form and Manner of the *Coronation* of King *Edward* VI. deſcribed in the *Catalogue of Honour*, ſet forth by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, *Anno Dom.* 1610, we find it thus: "The King being carried by certain "Noble Courtiers in another Chair un-"to the four ſides of the Stage, was by "the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* decla-"red to the people ſtanding round a-"bout, both by Gods and mans Laws "to be the Right and Lawful King of "*England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and "proclaimed that day to be Crowned, "Conſecrated and Anointed: unto "whom he demanded, Whether they "would Obey and Serve, or not? By "whom it was again with a loud cry "anſwered, *God ſave the King, and ever* "*live his Majeſty*. The ſame we have in ſubſtance both in fewer words in the

Exam. Hiſtor. 201.

Coronation of King *James*; where it is ſaid, "The King was ſhewed to the "people, and that they were required "to make acknowledgment of their Al- "legiance to his Majeſty by the Arch- "biſhop, which they did with Accla- "mations. But aſſuredly (ſays Dr. *Heylyn*) the difference is exceeding vaſt between *Obeying* and *Conſenting*; between the peoples *acknowledging their Allegiance, and promiſing to Obey and Serve their Lawful* Sovereign, *and giving their Conſent* to his *Coronation*, as if it could not be performed without it. This makes the King to be either made or unmade by his people, according to the *Maxim* of *Buchanan*, *Populo jus eſt, imperium cui velit deferat:* than which paſſage there is nothing in all his Books more peſtilent or ſeditious.

Neither is another *Poſition* any leſs derogatory to Regal Power, *viz. That Parliaments are to be Aſſiſtant to the King in the exerciſe of his Regal Government.* Unto which our excellent *Doctor* ſays, "That Parliaments or "Com-

" Common-Councils con-
" sisting of the Prelates, Cert. Epist. 243.
" Peers and other great
" men of the Realm were frequently
" held in the time of the *Saxon* Kings,
" and that the *Commons* were first cal-
" led to those great Assemblies at the
" Coronation of K. *Henry* I. to the end
" that his Succession to the Crown be-
" ing approved by the Nobility and
" People, he might have the better co-
" lour to exclude his Brother. And as
" the Parliament was not instituted by
" King *Henry* III. so was it not institu-
" ted by him to become an *Assistant* to
" him in the Government, unless it
" were from some of the Declarations
" of the *Commons* in the *Long Parlia-*
" *ment*, in which it is frequently af-
" firmed, *That the Fundamental Go-*
" *vernment of this Realm is by King,*
" *Lords and Commons*; which if so, then
" what became of the Government of
" this Kingdom under *Henry* III. when
" he had no such Assistants joyned with
" him? Or what became of the Foun-

" dation in the Intervals of following
" Parliaments, when there was neither
" *Lords* nor *Commons* on which the Go-
" vernment could be laid ? And there-
" fore it must be apparently necessary,
" either that the Parliaments were not
" instituted by King *Henry* III. to be
" his *Assistants* in the Government; or
" else that for the greatest space of time
" since *Henry* III. the Kingdom hath
" been under no Government at all for
" want of such *Assistants*. And I would
" fain learn, who should be Judg tou-
" ching the *Fitness* or *Unfitness* of such
" Laws and Liberties, by which the
" People and Nobility are to be grati-
" fied by their Kings: For if the Kings
" themselves must judg it, it is not
" likely that they will part with any
" of their just Prerogatives, which
" might make them less obeyed at
" home, or less feared abroad, but
" where invincible necessity or violent
" importunity might force them to it.
" And then the Laws and Liberties,
" which were so extorted were either
vio-

" violated or annulled whenſoever the
" *Granter* was in power to weaken or
" make void the *Grant*; for *Malus diu-*
" *turnitatis Cuſtos eſt metus*. But if the
" People muſt be Judges of ſuch Laws
" and Liberties as were fitteſt for them,
" there would be no end of their De-
" mands, unreaſonable in their own
" nature and in number infinite. For
" when they meet with a King of the
" *Giving hand*, they will preſs him ſo
" to give from one point to another, till
" he give away Royalty it ſelf; and if
" they be not ſatisfied in all their *Ask-*
" *ings*, they will be pleaſed with none of
" his former *Grants*.

But that which pared the Prerogative to the quick, was, that the *Reformation* of Religion was the Province of the People, or that they might do their Duty in the buſineſs when the King omitted his; concerning which our excellent *Doctor* delivers his judgment in theſe clear and convincing words, [*Exam.Hiſt.*135.] " That Idola-
" try is to be deſtroyed by all them that

" have power to do it, is easily granted.
" But then it must be understood of law-
" ful Power, and not permitted to the li-
" berty of unlawful violence, *Id possumus*
"*quod jure possumus*, was the Rule of old,
" and it hath held good in all attempts
" for Reformation in the elder times.
" For when the Fabrick of the *Jewish*
" Church was out of order, and the
" whole Worship of the Lord either de-
" filed with Superstitions, or intermin-
" gled with Idolatries, as it was too of-
" ten; did not Gods Servants tarry and
" wait for leisure, till those who were
" Supreme both in Place and Power,
" were by him prompted and inflamed
" to a Reformation? How many years
" had that whole People made an Idol
" of the *Brazen-Serpent* and burnt In-
" cense to it, before it was defaced by
" *Hezekiah*? How many more might
" it have stood longer undefac'd, un-
" touch'd by any of the common Peo-
" ple, had not the King given order to
" demolish it? How many years had the
" seduced *Israelites* adored before the
Altar

" *Altar* at *Bethel*, before it was hewn
" down and cut in pieces by the good
" *Josiah?* And yet it cannot be denied
" but that it was much in the power of
" the *Jews* to destroy that *Idol*, and of
" the honest and Religious *Israelites*
" to break down that *Altar*, as it ei-
" ther was or could be in the power of
" our *English* Zealots to beat down *Su-*
" *perstitious Pictures* and Images, had
" they been so minded. *Solomon* in the
" Book of *Canticles* compares the
" Church to an *Army*, *Acies castrorum*
" *ordinata*, as the *Vulgar* hath it; *An*
" *Army terrible with Banners*, as we
" read it: A powerful Body without
" doubt, able which way soever it
" moves to wast and destroy the Coun-
" try, to burn and sack the Villages
" through which it passes. And que-
" stionless many of the Soldiers know-
" ing their own *Power*, would be apt
" to do it, if not restrained by the Au-
" thority of their Com-
" manders and the *Laws*
" of War. *Ita se ducum Authoritas, sic*

Tacit. Hist. l. 1.

"*gor disciplinæ habet*, as we find in
"*Tacitus*. And if those be not kept as
" they ought to be, *Confusi equites pedi-*
"*tesque in exitium ruunt*; the whole runs
" to a swift destruction. Thus it is al-
"so in the Church with the Camp of
"God; If there be no subordination
"in it, if every one might do what he
"list himself, and make such uses of
"that power and opportunity as he
"thinks are put into his hands; what
"a confusion would insue? how speedy
"a calamity must needs fall upon it?
"Courage and zeal do never shew
" more zealously in inferiour powers,
" than when they are subordinate unto
"good Directions, from the right hand,
"*i. e.* from the Supreme Magistrate,
" not from the interests and passions of
"their Fellow-Subjects. It is the
"Princes Office to Command, and
" theirs to execute; with which wise
" Caution the Emperor *Otho* once re-
" prest the too great forwardness of his
"Soldiers, when he found them apt
" enough to make use of that power
in

"in a matter not com-
"manded by him. *Vobis* *Tacit.* Hist. *l.* 1.
"*arma & animus, mihi Concilium &*
"*virtutis vestræ Regimen relinquite*,
"as his words are. He understood their
"Duty and his own Authority; al-
"lows them to have power and will,
"but regulates and restrains them both
"unto his own Command. So that
"whether we behold the Church in its
"own condition, proceeding by the
"starrant and examples of Holy Scri-
"pture; or in resemblance to an Ar-
"my (as compared by *Solomon*) there
"will be nothing left to the power of
"the people either in way of Reforma-
"mation or Execution, till they be ve-
"sted and entrusted with some lawful
"Power derived from him, whom God
"hath placed in Authority over them.
"And therefore though Idolatry be to
"be destroyed, and to be destroyed by
"all which have Power to do it, yet
"must all those be furnish'd with a
"lawful Power, or otherwise stand
"guilty of as high a Crime, as that
which

" which they so zealously endeavour
" to condemn in others. And if it be
" urged, *That the Sovereign forgetting*
" *his Duty, the Subjects should remember*
" *theirs*; 'tis a lesson which was never
" taught in the Book of God. For be-
" side the examples which we have in
" demolishing the *Brazen-Serpent* and
" the *Altar of Bethel*, not acted by
" the Power of the People, but by the
" Command of the Prince, I would
" fain know where we shall find in the
" whole course and current of Holy
" Scriptures, that the common people in
" and by their own Authority, removed
" the *High Places*, and destroyed *Ima-*
" *ges*, or cut down the *Groves*, those
" excellent Instruments of Superstition
" and Idolatry; or that they did at-
" tempt any such thing till warranted
" and commissionated by the Supreme
" Powers? Where shall we find that
" any of the seventy thousand persons,
" which *had not bowed the knee to Baal*,
" did go about to destroy that Idol?
" or that *Elijah* or *Elisha* (two men as
extra-

" extraordinary for their Calling, as for
" their Zeal and Courage) did excite
" them to it? Where shall we find the
" Primitive Christians, when living un-
" der the command of Heathenish Em-
" perors, busied in destroying Idols,
" or defacing the Temples of those
" gods, whom the *Pagans* worshipped,
" though grown in those times unto
" those infinite multitudes, that they
" filled all places of the Empire, *Et*
" *vestra omnia implevimus*, Cities, Ca-
" stles, Burroughs, your places of As-
" sembly, Camps, Tribes, Palaces, yea
" the very Senate and common *Forum*,
" as *Tertullian* pleads. No other Do-
" ctrine preach'd or heard of, till either
" the new Gospel of *Wickliff*, or the
" new Lights shining from *Geneva*.

These, with many more if it were safe to insert them in these Papers, were the Doctrines which this Reverend man taught when there was no King in our *English Israel*. He did not only rescue the actions of his Sovereigns Life and Reign from those Calumnies

Calumnies and Mistakes which were obtruded on him by malicious or inobservant Writers; but he took care that what he writ should be beneficial to Regal Government, and that those his Country-men who had any share of guilt in the unnatural Rebellion might be induced to a hearty Contrition and Reformation. And this he did too in those days of Libertinism and Danger, when he could expect nothing for his pains, but Death mingled with all the ingredients of Cruelty and Torment. Suffice it to acquaint the Reader that Dr. *Bates* imparted to his judicious perusal his *Elenchus Motuum*, (a secret of that weight and importance that it ought only to be lodg'd in so faithful and loyal a Breast) upon which he made many *Considerations*, that very much tended to the honor of the King and Church, as well as of that loyal *Physician* and *Historian*. And which is not unworthy of remark; in whatever he Writ or Preach'd either before or after the Murther of his Royal Master, he

he took care in asserting the Prerogative and Rights of the Crown, not to intrench the least upon the Liberties and Privileges of the People. For thus he himself acquaints us, [*Cert. Epist.* 326.] "If any were faulty in this kind, *viz.* in "maintaining that all the Goods of the "Subject were at the Kings absolute "disposal, let them speak for themselves; "neither my Tongue nor Pen shall ever "be employed in their behalf: Certain "I am, that I am free enough from the "Accusation; my nearest kindred be-"ing persons of too fair a Fortune to be "betrayed by one of their own Blood "to a loss of that property, which "they have by Law in their Estates. "And no less certain am I, that no flat-"tery or time-serving, no preaching up "of the Kings Prerogative, nor dero-"gating from the property of the *Eng-"lish Subject*, could be found in any of "my Sermons before his Majesty, had "they been sifted to the very *Bran*. In "confidence whereof, I offered the "*Committee* of the *Courts of Justice* (be-
fore

" fore whom I was called on the Com-
" plaint of Mr. *Pryn*) to put into their
" hands all the Sermons which I had
" either Preach'd at *Court* or in *West-*
" *minster-Abby*, to the end they might
" see how free and innocent I was from
" broaching any such new Doctrines,
" as might not be good *Parliament-*
" *Proof*, whensoever they should come
" to be examined.

Nor was the courage of our *Doctor* for the Church, less active and vigorous, than for the King. For whenever its *Doctrine*, or *Discipline*; its *Ministry*, or *Government*; its *Liturgy*, or *Ceremonies*; its *Offices*, or *Revenues* were assaulted by Tongue or Pen, its enemies were in a short space of time made acquainted with their Malice or Mistakes. For he encountred the Errors and Heresies, the Schisms and Sacrileges, the Disloyalties and Rebellions of the Age with no less zeal than St. *Paul* did the gross Idolatries and Superstitions of the *Athenians*.

The

The *Doctrines* of the Church he defended against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. What he did against the first will be a sufficient vindication of his sincerity in the *Protestant* Religion; a thing not only doubted of, but called in question in the Long Parliament; before whom he made a large *Protestation* touching his soundness in Religion and his averseness from *Popery*. The Form of his *Protestation* I never had communicated to me; but whatever it was, he was then freed by it from all suspicion of that *Crimination* in the judgment of all sober men. He had before set himself right in the opinion of the King and the whole Court in the Sermons which he Preach'd upon the Parable of the *Tares*. For making the principal points controverted between *Us* and the *Papists* the constant Arguments of his Discourses upon that Subject, his Auditory were so well satisfied about his integrity in *Protestantism*, that some of the most judicious did not stick to say, *That* Dr. Heylyn *had in his Tare-Sermons*

mons pulled up Popery by the Root and subverted the Foundations of it : To which it was replied by some bitter spirits (whether with more uncharitableness or imprudent zeal, is hard to say) That *the* Archbishop *might Print and Dr.* Heylyn *might Preach what they pleased against* Popery, *but they should never believe them to be any thing the less* Papists *for all that.* A censure of a very strange nature, and so little savouring of Christianity, that it is hard to parallel it by any instance, except it be of the Age we now live in. And so industrious has the Devil, the great *Calumniator and Accuser* of Holy men, been to propagate this Reproach, that some persons, whose *Tongues are their own* and will admit of *no Lords over them*, have visited the very Grave of this Reverend person and like *Vultures* prey'd upon his body. Amongst whom, the Author of that pestilent Pamphlet, called *An Appeal from the Country to the City*, lets flie at him in these words, *Dr.* Heylyn

Page 6.

has

has made more Papists by his Books than Christians by his Sermons. And Dr. *Heylyn*, though dead, does yet speak for himself to the eternal confutation of the *Calumny*, as well as shame of the *Calumniator*. The present *Dean* of St. *Pauls* has very generously justified the *Doctor* against *T. G.* who by all means would have brought him over to his Cause and Party in the Controversie between them, about the Idolatry of the *Roman* Church, quoting a passage out of his fourth Sermon upon the *Tares*, where he lays to the charge of the *Papists* the most *gross Idolatry, greater than which, was never known among the Gentiles.* And indeed the whole Volume of those Sermons is studiously contrived against *Popery*; and put out on purpose in the last times of Confusion, by our *Doctor*, to obstruct the spreading of that Canker of Christianity. And when he had preach'd only the two first, some of his judici-

General Preface to an Answer of several Treatises.

ous hearers did not ſtick to declare, That Dr. *Heylyn had done more in two Sermons for the Suppreſſion of* Popery, *than ever Dr.* Pr. *had done in all his life.*

But that the Reader may be convinc'd about the *Doctors* ſincerity in *Proteſtantiſm*, let it be conſidered that never any Writer upon the Apoſtles *Creed* did more induſtriouſly expoſe and ſtrenuouſly confute the Errors of the *Roman* Church, than he does in his Treatiſe upon that Subject; which was put out alſo at that time, when he and the *exauctorated* Clergy (as he calls them) had all the provocations of want and ſcorn to have forſaken a perſecuted Church and embraced *Popery*. He diſproves their * *Traditions*: And as for their *Idolatry*, he ſpeaks in theſe words, *That altho they publickly profeſs but one Sovereign God, yet the poor Chriſtians in the Roman Church are taught every where to place their confidence in more*

* Preface to *Theo. Vet.* p. 13.

Theol. Vet. p. 27, 28. Edit. 1.

more local Saints, than ever Heathen-Rome did muster of its Topical gods. — And how in *a very little time* Rome-*Christian came to have more Tutelary Saints and Patrons (and those too of each Sex) than ever Heathen*-Rome *should gods, or goddesses.*——*Neither is this any studied Calumny, but so clear a Truth, that it was never yet gain-said by their greatest Advocates: so much hath Rome relapsed into her ancient Gentilism*, revived again so many of her gods and goddesses, *that both* Jews and Infidels *may have cause to question, whether she doth believe in one God alone, or that he only is the Almighty Father, whom the* Creed *mentions.* Neither does he stick in generals, but particularly proves the *Popish* Idolatries in (*b*) Worshiping Saints and Angels, and imploying them as Mediators unto God; in (*c*) adoring the Blessed Virgin, and bestowing those blasphemous Titles of *Mater misericordiæ*, *Mater*

(b) *Ib.* 72.

(c) *Ib.* 152.

Gratiæ, Regina Cœli, &c. in (*d*) Worshipping the Cross, and the impudence of those Writers that defend it; in (*e*) the *Invocation of Saints*, shewing how it first came to be introduced in the Church, together with the unlawfulness and danger of that Doctrine and practice, from Scripture, Reason and the Fathers; answering the Objections made by School-men and others for it; proving that that Doctrine, together with that of Worshippiug of Images is a Fruit of *Gentilism*; and shewing the vanity of their distinctions; as also upon what ground the device of *Purgatory* is obtruded on us, and how 'tis rejected as well by the whole *Greek* Church, as by the ancient Fathers. He (*f*) censures the whole herd of *School-men*, telling how they have *intangled the simplicity of the Christian Faith within the labyrinth of curious and intricate*

(d) *Ib.* 187.

(e) *Ib.* 418, 419, 420.

(f) 130.

tricate distinctions, insomuch that it became at last a matter of great wit and judgment to know what was believed in the things of Christ. He (g) exposes those impure Blasphemies that the *Papists* fix upon the Holy Spirit and Blessed Virgin-Mother, unmasking the obscenities of the lazy *Monks* and *Friers*, who fancied themselves to have had unclean commixtures with her: relating the Bull of Pope *Leo* 10. that gave *Tekelius* a *Dominican* Frier *authority to absolve any man whatsoever, etiamsi virginem matrem vitiaverit, although he had defloured the Virgin-Mother.* (h) Perstringing those that would free her from the contagion of all *Venial* and *Original* Sin; and assert her Virginity so far, as to extend it to the integrity of her Body as well as purity of her Mind; and (i) condemning *Maldonate* for not only making Christ, but God the Father inferior

(g) 138.

(h) 152.

(i) 277.

(k) 195. to her. He (*k*) largely disproves the monstrous Paradox of *Transubstantiation*, which he shews was hammered in the brains of capricious *School-men*, (*ib.*) 269, 270, 294. (*ib.*) and that the Sacrifice of the *Mass* is a dangerous deceit and blasphemous Fable affabulated to *Transubstantiation* by the Popes of *Rome*; the Rise and absurd consequences of which Doctrine he at large illu-

(l) 292. strates. He is content (*l*) to be accounted a *Heretick* by the *Papists*, because he will admit of no more *Mediators of Intercession* than Christ, who is the *Mediator of Redemption.* He (*m*)

(m) 294. confutes the strange Positions of the *Trent-Council* about the *Mass*, shewing how absurd it is that a *poor Priest should have power to make his Maker; and having made him with the Breath of his Mouth, he should fall down and Worship what himself had made: That having worship'd him as God,*

God, he should presume to lay hands upon him, and Offer him in Sacrifice as soon as Worship'd; that his Oblation once made is efficacious both to Quick and Dead; to the Absent and the Present; and that such as are present at it, may, if they find their stomachs serve, devour their God. He (*n*) attacks the *Papists* in the *Fundamental* of their Religion, *viz.* That Christ must have the Pope for his *Vice-Roy* to supply his place and absence, and to govern and direct his Church in Peace and Unity; and he (*o*) again re-assumes the Argument and confutes all that *Bellarmin* and others produce for it. But then the mischief is, he tells of those, who would (*p*) *impose upon the Church as many petite Popes as there are Parishes——by means whereof they make Christs Body more monstrous, than the Monster* Hydra, *not to have seven Heads only, but seven hundred thousand*——He takes

(n) 304.

(o) 384.

(p) 305.

(q) 332. (q) *Estius* to task for making Christ in his Exposition of *Mark* 13. 32. the

(r) 359. Author of *Equivocation*. He (r) confutes *Harding* for asserting, that the *proof of Christs Deity depended not upon the Holy Scriptures, but the Tradition of the Church, and the Authority of some subsequent Councils confirmed by* Popes; as if God could not be God, unless the *Pope* allowed it. He vindicates

(s) 361, 362. (s) the *Greek* Church against the uncharitableness of the *Roman*, and

(t) 371, 372. (t) the Authority and Honor of the Scriptures against the Blasphemies that are fixed upon them by the *Papists*; but then as luck would have it, he speaks of some *Reformers*, who assert that *Preaching* viva voce *is only able to convert sinners, and that the Word sermoniz'd, not written, is alone the Food that nourishes to eternal life*; and he proves unanswerably how such men

men detract more from its perfection and sufficiency than the *Papists*. He condemns those who call *Papists* by the name of *Catholicks*, professing that he *never gave that name to them either in Writing or common Speech, as thinking it a greater condemnation to our selves than men are aware of*——*And that if we once grant them to be* Catholicks, *we thereby do conclude our selves to be no* Christians. Nay he proves out of *Bellarmin*, how they are delighted with the name of *Papists*, and that they have no mind to be called *Christians*; the name in most parts of *Italy* being grown so despicable, that *Fool* and *Christian* are become *Synonymous*. Since then (says the *Doctor*) they have no mind to be called *Christians*, no reason to be called *Catholicks*, let us call them as they are, by the name of *Papists*, considering their dependence on the *Popes* decisions for all points of Faith. But then he tells of another *Faction* that make as ill an use of the Title *Holy*, as

De not. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4.

as the *Papists* do of the name *Catholick*; that are holy in the sense of *Corah* and his Factious *Complices*, who made all the Congregation *holy* and all *holy* alike. He gives also an excellent account of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* platforms, and (*u*) proves against both of them, that the Churches Government is not *Democratical*, and against the *Papists*, that 'tis not *Monarchical*, but in the judgment of the purest Antiquity *Aristocratical*. In a word, he (*w*) shews how both the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches opposed the *Popes Supremacy*, forced *Celibacy of Priests*, *Transubstantiation*, *Half-Communion*, *Purgatory*, *Worshiping of Images*, and *Auricular Confession*: Of which last Doctrine, he at large (*x*) states the whole business about it from Bishop *Morton*, shewing how it ought to be *free* in regard of *Conscience*, and

(u) 386, 387.

(w) 397, 398.

(x) 457, 458.

and *possible* in regard of *Performance*. But then withal he asserts the Efficacy and Power of the *Sacerdotal Absolution*, proving it not only *Declarative* but *Authoritative* and *Judicial*; as also the (y) Right that every *National* Church has to decree *Rites and Ceremonies* for the more orderly officiating in Gods Publick Worship, and the procuring of a greater degree of Reverence to the Holy Sacraments.

(y) 403, 404.

In the belief of these Doctrines, this great Scholar lived and died: And with what confidence can any one rake in his Grave and asperse his Memory, not only with things which he never opined, but with those which his soul ever abhorr'd? But, if there can be any accession to the degrees of Bliss in the other world, I doubt not but his Rewards are advanced and grow more massie with the persecutions which his name suffers upon earth. Our Blessed Saviour himself was not out of the reach of malevolent tongues, when his

Body

Body was laid in the Grave, being then called a *Deceiver* by his Murtherers. And thrice welcome are those aspersions and mis-constructions that make us conformable to so glorious a pattern. Spiteful and inconsiderate men do ever judg rashly of things and persons, taking a great pleasure to assault the Innocence and undermine the Reputations of those that are more upright and vertuous than themselves.

Mat. 27. 63.

But against these things 'tis commonly said, and as commonly believed, that some persons, and those too of the most illustrious Quality have been perverted from the *Protestant* Faith to *Popery*, by reading some of Dr. *Heylyn*'s Books, and particularly his *Ecclesia Restaurata*, or *History of the Reformation*. And Dr. *Burnet* in the first Volume of his History upon the same Subject, has done all he can to confirm the world in the belief of that injurious imputation: For after a short commendation of our *Doctors* stile and me-

method (it being usual with some men slightly to praise those at first, whom they design to lash more severely afterward) he presumes to tell his Reader, *That either Doctor* Heylyn *was very ill informed, or very much led by his Passions; and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely, that one would think that he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of* Rome, *tho I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused, That he never vouch'd any Authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven any who write of Transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what ground he wrote a great deal of his Book, we can only conjecture; and many in their ghesses are not apt to be very favourable to him.*

Dr. Burnet's Preface to the *History of the Reformation*, Vol. 1.

This

This Objection containing many particulars in it, will require as many distinct Answers in the Vindication of the *Doctors* Honor and Writings, and more especially of his *History of the Reformation.*

And first, if it be true, that any have embraced the *Roman* Faith by reading of that Book, we may conclude them very incompetent Judges in matters of Religion, who will be prevailed on to change it upon the perusal of one single *History*; and especially in the Controversies between *Us* and the *Papists*, which do not so very much depend upon matters of *Fact*, or upon an *Historical* Narration of what occurrences happened in *England*, in the Reigns of any of our preceding Princes; but upon Doctrines of *Faith, viz.* what we are to believe or dis-believe in order to our pleasing of God in this life, and our being eternally blessed with him in the next. Altho *Junius* and others have by their reading of Holy Writ found the efficacy of it up-

on

on their hearts, and from profligate *Atheists* have become Gods faithful Servants; yet the blessed Doctrine of the Bible, has through the depravation of mans Nature, had a quite contrary efficacy upon other persons; being just like wholsom meat which administers health and vigor unto Athletick and sound Bodies, but infeebles nature and feeds the diseases of those that are sickly and distempered. Let the *History of the Reformation* be never so fatal to unwary and less intelligent Readers, yet it was writ with an intent to justifie the *Reformation*, and that upon such *just and solid Reasons as might sufficiently endear it to all knowing men*, as its Author tells his Majesty. *Bonæ res neminem scandalizant nisi malam mentem*, says one of the Antients. Some men have such inveterate Diseases, that no Physick can do them good; and some Stomachs are so foul, that Antidotes are turned by them into poison. If any one was ever unsealed in

Epist. Ded.

Pro-

Proteſtantiſm by reading of *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*, it was only accidental; his perverſion being to be aſcribed either to the ignorance or weakneſs of his Judgment, or to the ſtubbornneſs of his Will, or ſome other evil principle of his Mind. It cannot proceed from any intrinſick evil quality in that or any other Book of Doctor *Heylyns*, which abound with unanſwerable Arguments to eſtabliſh the *Diſcipline* and *Doctrine* of the Church of *England* againſt its profeſſed Enemies of *Rome* and *Geneva*. But our *Doctors* own words will be a ſufficient defence of him unto all equal and unprejudic'd Judgments, "In the "whole carriage of this work, I have aſ-"ſumed unto my ſelf the freedom of a "juſt *Hiſtorian*; concealing nothing "out of Fear, nor ſpeaking any thing "out of Favour; delivering nothing for "a Truth without good Authority; "but ſo delivering that Truth, as to "witneſs for me, that I am neither biaſ-"ſed by Love or Hatred, nor over-"ſwayed by partiality and corrupt af-

fecti-

fections, "I know 'tis impossible in a "work of this nature to please all par-"ties, tho I have made it my endea-"vour to dissatisfie none, but those "that hate to be reformed; or other-"wise are so tenaciously wedded to "their own opinion, that neither Rea-"son nor Authority can divorce them "from it. In short, his love to Truth, and veneration to the Church of *England* were the only motives that made him undertake to write that *History*: The one was the *Mistris*, which he ever serv'd; and the other was the *Mother*, whose Paps he had always suck'd, And whoever dis-regards, or deviates from either of those, may perhaps be offended with some particular passages in *Ecclesia Restaurata*.

As for his *never vouching Authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven him*; I hope he has met with a more merciful Judg in another world, than it seems Dr. *Burnet* is in this. But who is to pardon Dr. *B.* for accusing Dr. *Heylyn* of *violent prejudices* against

persons, of writing things so *strangely*, as if he had been a *Factor* for the *Papists*, and yet not specifying one particular Instance, wherein he was thus partial and perfidious. He began the writing of that History in *September* 1638, communicating his design to Archbishop *Laud*, from whom he received all imaginable encouragement. And what benefit would any Reader receive to have quoted to him the pages of *Manuscripts*, Acts of *Parliament*, Registers of *Convocation*, old *Records* and *Charters*, orders of *Council-Table*, or other of those rare pieces in the *Cottonian* Library, which were made use of in that elaborate *History*. Had Dr. *Heylyn* borrowed his materials out of Vulgar or Printed Authors, he ought then to have vouch'd particular Authorities for what he writ, but making use of those which few Scholars either could or had perused, it had been the part of a *Pedant*, not of an *Historian*, to have been exact and particular in his Quotations. Not to men-

tion either *Greek* or *Latine Historians*. Does not Dr. *B.* esteem the Lord *Bacon's History* of *Henry* VII. to contain as complete and judicious an account of the Affairs of that Princes Reign, as any thing of that nature, that is extant in *English* Story? But the *Margent* of that Book is not stuft with many more Quotations, than the *Doctors Ecclesia Restaurata*. And yet the Lord *Bacon writ of Transactions beyond his own time*, and lived as far distant from the Reign of King *Henry* VII. as Dr. *Heylyn* did from King *Henry* VIII. who laid the first Foundation of our *Reformation*. For my own part I cannot with the most diligent search find out any passages in *Ecclesia Restaurata*, which evert the great Rule that ought to be observed by all *Historians*, viz. *Ne quid falsi audeant*, to commit nothing unto Writing which they know to be false, or cannot justifie to be true. *History* is the Record of time, by which the Revolutions of Providence are transmitted from one Age unto another. And

if it can be proved that Dr. *Heylyn* has either suborned *Witnesses*, falsified *Records*, or so wrested *Evidence*, that posterity cannot make a certain judgment of those Transactions; of which he undertook to inform his Countrymen, then it must be confessed that he was led by Passion more than Judgment, and by *violent prejudices* more than the substantial evidences of Truth.

And yet if all this were made out, 'tis no more than what may be laid at the door of that Author, who not many years since writ the *History of Duke* Hamilton, where are reported the most abominable Scandals, broach'd by the malicious *Covenanteers* against the *Hierarchy* of the *Scotish* Church. And the *Historian*, without the least contradiction or confutation, permits them to pass for infallible Truths; that so Posterity as well as the present prejudiced Age might be leavened with an implacable enmity and hatred against the

Hist. D. Ham. p. 29, 30.

the whole Order of Bishops. And altho the *Hamiltons* were the old inveterate enemies of the *Stuarts*; and the *Duke*, of whom that large *History* is compiled, was an enemy as treacherous to K. *Charles* I. as any that ever appeared against him in open Arms, drawing the *Scots* in the *English* Court to be his Dependents; alienating their Affections from the King his Master. Tho wise men of both Nations thought that the first Tumult at *Edinborough* was raised by his Instruments, and the Combustions that ensued were secretly fomented by him: Tho when he was *High Commissioner*, he drew the King from one Condescention to another in behalf of the *Covenanteers*, till he had little else left to give but his Crown and Life: Tho he drew him first to suspend and then to suppress the *Liturgy* and *Canons* made for the use of the *Scotish* Church, and to abrogate the five *Articles* of *Perth*, procured with so much difficulty by K. *James*, and confirmed by *Parliament*: Tho he

authorized the Covenant with some few alterations in it, and generally imposed it on that Kingdom: Tho he yielded to the calling of the Assembly, and was assured by that means, that the Bishops by the Majority of their Enemies Voices should be Censured and Excommunicated; that Episcopacy should be abolished, and all the Regular Clergy exposed to Ruine: Tho he got to himself so strong a Party in the Kingdom, that the King stood but for a Party in the Calculation: Tho when he had Command over a considerable part of the Royal Navy in the *Frith* at *Edinburough*, he made good that saying of the *Scots*, *That the Son of so good a Mother* (being a most rigid *Covenanter*) *could do them no hurt*, by loitering about on purpose till he heard that the Treaty of *Pacification* was begun at *Barwick*, whither he came in *Post-haste*, pretending to disturb that business, when he knew it would be concluded before he came thither: Tho he was guilty of the vilest Treachery

to

to the Best of Princes, and the Best of Subjects, *viz. Charles* I. and the Marquess of *Montrose*, who returning out of *France*, and designing to put himself into the Kings Service, made his way to *Hamilton*, who (knowing the gallantry of the man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majesties Favour) told *Montrose* on the one hand, That the King slighted the *Scottish* Nation, that he designed to reduce it unto a Province, and that he would no longer continue in the Court were it not for some services that he was engaged to do for his Country: And on the other hand told the King, That *Montrose* was so popular and powerful among the *Scots*, that he would embroil the Affairs, and endanger the Interest of his Majesty in that Kingdom; which suggestions made the King take little notice of him, and the Martyred *Hëroe* was confirmed in the belief of what *Hamilton* had secretly whispered to him; which caused him to go to *Scotland*, and there to list himself with the

Male-contents of that Kingdom, whose concerns he espoused till he saw his own Error, and *Hamilton*'s Treachery: Tho D. *Hamilton* was the man that prevailed with the King to pass that Act for continuation of the Parliament during the pleasure of the Two Houses, and boasted how he had got a perpetual Parliament for the *English*, and would do the like for the *Scots* too, and contrary ro the wishes of all good men, prevailed with the King to Dissolve that Parliament which was immediately precedent, playing with both hands at once; pulling with one hand back the Commons from all Compliance with the King, and thrusting on the King with the other hand to Dissolve the Parliament: In fine (for the repetition of these things is not very delighting) Tho this D. *Hamilton* did in the opinion of very many wise men aim at nothing less than the Crown of *Scotland*, and had so courted the Common Soldiers, raised for the Service of the *Swedes*, and obliged their Com-

man-

manders, that *David Ramsey* openly began an health to King *James* the Seventh; yet all these with many more particulars are either quite smothered, or so painted over by Dr. *Burnet*, that the Volume he has writ upon *Hamilton* may rather be called an *Apology*, or a *Panegyrick* than a *History*. But Dr. *Heylyn* had the courage to acquaint the world with these harsh Truths in the Life of the Archbishop, and in the *Observations* that he has writ upon Mr. *L'Estrange's History* of King *Charles* I. And there was no other way to be revenged on him, than to traduce his Labours, and blast his Memory, as if he had been *secretly set on to write by those of the Church of* Rome. A Calumny so improbable, that 'tis confuted in the very Preface to *Ecclesia Restaurata*, where he tells how the *Owners of the* Abby-Lands *had all the reason in the world to maintain that Right, which by the known Laws of the Land had been vested in them.—And that the* *Page 6.*

Ex-

Exchanges, Grants and Sales *of the* Monasteries and Religious Houses *were passed and confirmed by the Kings* Letters-Patents *under the* Great Seal of *England in due form of Law, which gave unto the* Patentees *as good a Title as the Law could make them; and that Pope* Julius *the Second in Queen* Maries *Reign confirmed all those Lands by his* Decree *to the present Occupants, of which they stood possessed* (justo titulo) *by a lawful Title.* But the *Doctors* Observation is verified in himself, *viz. That 'Tis the Faction a man joyns with, not the Life or Principles of the man himself that makes him a good or a bad man*; And I will add a learned or good Writer. He did not write Books, or Preach Sermons, as anciently *Poets* did *Comedies*, of whom *Terence* tells us,

Poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum appulit,
Id sibi negotii credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas fecissit fabulas.

Thus

Thus Englished by Dr. *Heylyn.*

Thus Poets when their mind they first apply,
In looser Verse to frame a Comedy.
Think there is nothing more for them to do
Than please the people whom they speak unto.

But this Reverend man was of no crouching temper to popular Factions, or Opinions. And whoever they are that oppose those, will be charged with Railing and Reviling, as well as with Falsities and Mistakes, tho they use the most unaffected propriety of words to represent the conceptions of their minds, in giving an account of things in their proper and due circumstances. Dr. *Heylyn* had too much in him of a *Gentleman* and a *Scholar* to use any unseemly expressions in his Writings, to render either Persons, Opinions, or Actions odious. If he found

found them so, he ought so to represent them, or else he would not have acquitted himself like an *Historian, i.e.* faithful to the just interests of Truth. Had he but employed his Pen to have written one half of those things against the King and Church of *England*, which he writ for them, he would have been accounted by very many persons (I will not say by Dr. *B.*) the greatest *Scholar*, the greatest *Protestant*, the most faithful *Historian*, or in their own phrase, *the most precious man* that ever yet breath'd in this Nation. But he had the good luck to be a Scholar, and better luck to employ his Learning like an honest man and a good Christian, in the defence of a Righteous and pious King; of an Apostolical and true Church; of a Venerable and Learned Clergy: And this drew upon him all the *odium* and malice that two opposite Factions, *Papist* and *Sectary* could heap upon him.

Had he writ only against the first, his name had received no more disturbance

bance from men upon earth, than his Soul does amongst its blessed associates in Heaven. But diving into unbeaten paths, in his Theological Studies, he gives an account of the first entrance of the *Calvinian* Tenets into this Kingdom, *viz.* *Exam. Hist.* 162.
" How the Controversies
" about Grace, Predestination, *&c.* had
" had been long agitated in the Schools
" between the *Dominicans* on the one
" side and the *Franciscans* on the other:
" the *Dominicans* grounding their opini-
" on on the Authority of *S. Austin, Pro-*
" *sper*, and some others of the follow-
" ing Writers: The *Franciscans* on the
" general current of the ancient Fa-
" thers, who lived *ante mota certami-*
" *na Pelagiana*, before the rising of the
" *Pelagian* Heresies. Which Disputes
" being after taken up in the *Lutheran*
" Churches, the moderate *Lutherans*
" (as they call them) followed the Do-
" ctrine of *Melancthon*, conformable to
" the *Franciscans* in those particulars.
" The others whom they call *Stiff* or
Rigid

"*Rigid Lutherans*, of whom *Flaccius* "*Illyricus* was chief, go in the same "way with the *Dominicans*. The Au- "thority of which last opinion, after "it had been entertained and publish- "ed in the works of *Calvin*, for his "sake found admittance in the Schools "and Pulpits of most of the Reformed "Churches. And being controverted "*pro* and *con* by some of the *Confessors* "in Prison in Qu. *Maries* "days, after her death "many of our exiled Di- "vines returning from "*Geneva*, *Basil*, and such other "places, where *Calvins* Dictates were "received as celestial Oracles, brought "with them his opinions in the points "of *Predestination*, *Grace* and *Persève-* "*rance*; which being dispersed and "scattered over all the Church by *Cal-* "*vins* authority and the diligence of "the *Presbyterian* party (then busie in "advancing their Holy Discipline) "they came to be received for the on- "ly true and orthodox Doctrine, and

Observat. on the History of the Reign of K. *Charles*, 72.

were

" were so publickly maintained in the
" Schools of *Cambridge*, till Dr. *Peter*
" *Baroe*, *Professor* for the Lady *Marga-*
" *ret* in that University, revived the
" *Melanchonian* way in his publick Le-
" ctures, and by his great Learning and
" Arguments had drawn many others
" to the same persuasions.

From which words it appears what little shew of reason there is to call those Divines *Arminians*, who are of a different judgment from Mr. *Calvin* in the points aforesaid. For first, The *Arminians* are rather a Branch of the Sect of *Calvin*; to whose Discipline in all particulars they conform themselves, and to his Doctrines in most, differing from him only in *Predestination* and the Points subordinate; but managing those differences with a far better temper than their *Opposites*, as may be seen at large in Mr. *Hales*'s Letters. And secondly,

" *Arminius* (as our *Doctor* tells us) " was too much
" a *puisne*, of too late standing in the world

Cert. Epist. 22.

"world, to be accounted, the first
"*Broacher* of those *Doctrinal* Points,
"which have such warrant from the
"Scriptures, and were so generally
"held by the ancient Fathers both
"*Greek* and *Latine*, till St. *Austins* time;
"defended since that time by the *Je-*
"*suites* and *Franciscans* in the Church
"of *Rome*, by all the *Melancthonian*
"Divines among the *Lutherans*; by
"*Castalio* in *Geneva* it self; by Bishop
"*Latimer* and Bishop *Hooper* in the
"time of K. *Edward* VI; by some of
"our *Confessors* in Prison in the days
"of Qu. *Mary*: by Bishop *Harsnet* in
"the Pulpit; by Dr. *Peter Baroe* in the
"Schools in the Reign of Qu. *Elizabeth*;
"by *Hardem Bergius* the first Reformer
"of the Church and City of *Emden*;
"and finally by *Anastasius Velvanius*,
"*A. D.* 1554. and afterward by *Henri-*
"*cus Antonii*, *Johannes Ibrandi*, *Cle-*
"*mens Martini*, *Cornelius Meinardi*, the
"Ministers generally of the Province
"of *Utrecht*; by *Manaus* the Divinity-
"*Professor* of *Leyden*; by *Gellius Suc-*
canus

"*canus* in the Province of *Friezeland*, "before the name of *Jacob van Har-* "*mine* was heard of in the world.

And if it be objected that the whole ſtream of *Proteſtant* Divines, who were famous either for Piety or Learning embraced the *Calvinian* Doctrines; to this alſo the *Doctor* gives a ſatisfactory anſwer in many places of his learned Writings. The Reader may pleaſe to conſider, *Cert. Epiſt.* 173.

1. That this being granted to be a truth, we are rather to look upon it as an infelicity which befel the Church, than as an argument that ſhe concurr'd with thoſe Divines in all points of judgment. That which was moſt aimed at immediately after the *Reformation*, and for a long time after, in preferring men to the higheſt dignities of the Church, and chief places in the Univerſities, was their zeal againſt *Popery*, and ſuch a ſufficiency of learning as might enable him to defend thoſe Points, on which our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome* was to be main-

tained, and the Queens Intereſt moſt preſerved. The Popes *Supremacy*, the *Maſs*, with all the Points and Nicities which depended on it, *Juſtification* by Faith, *Marriage* of *Prieſts*, *Purgatory*, the *Power* of the *Civil* Magiſtrate, were the Points moſt agitated: And whoever appeared right in thoſe, and withal declared himſelf againſt the corruptions of that Church in point of Manners, was ſeldom or never looked into for his other Opinions, until the Church began to find the ſad conſequences of it in ſuch a general tendency to Innovation both in *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, as could not eaſily be redreſs'd. 2. In anſwer to the fore-mentioned objection, It is recorded in St. *Marks* Goſpel, *cap.* 8. that the blind man whom our Saviour reſtored to ſight at *Bethſaida*, at the firſt opening of his eyes *ſaw men as Trees walking*, ver. 24. *i. e.* walking as Trees; *quaſi dicat homines quos ambulantes video, non homines ſed arbores mihi viderentur*,

Ib. 153.

tur, as we read in *Maldonate*. By which words, the blind man declared (ſaith he) *ſe quidem videre aliquid, cum nihil antè videret, imperfectè tamen videre, cum inter homines & arbores diſtinguere non poſſet*. More briefly *Eſtius* upon the place, *Nondum ita clarè & perfectè video, ut diſcernere poſſim inter homines & arbores*. I diſcern ſomewhat, ſaid the poor man, but ſo imperfectly, that I am not able to diſtinguiſh between Trees and Men. Such an imperfect ſight as this the Lord gave many times to thoſe whom he recovered out of the *Egyptian* darkneſs, who not being able to diſcern all Divine Truths at the firſt opening of the eyes of their underſtandings, were not to be a Rule and Precedent to thoſe that followed and lived in clearer times, and under a brighter Beam of Illumination than others did.

What grounds were laid down by this excellent perſon for Unity and Charity in the Worſhip of God, and in the Doctrine and Government of

the Church, may be seen in these words to Mr. *Baxter*; "Unity and Charity in "the ancient simplicity of Doctrine, "Worship, and Government, no man "likes better than my self; bring but "the same affections with you, and the "wide Breach that is between us (in "some of the Causes which we manage "on either side) will be suddenly clo-"sed: but then you must be sure to "stand to the word *Ancient* also, and "not keep your self to *simplicity* on-"ly. If *Unity* and *Charity* will con-"tent you in the ancient Doctrine, in "the *simplicity* thereof without sub-"sequent mixtures of the Church, I "know no Doctrine in the Church "more pure and *Ancient*, than that "which is publickly held forth by the "Church of *England* in the Book of "*Articles*, the *Homilies*, and the *Ca-"techism* authorized by Law, of which "I may safely affirm as St. *Austin* does "in his Book *Ad Marcelinum*, *His qui "contradicit, aut a Christi fide alienus est*,

Cert. Epist. 57.

"*est, aut est Hæreticus*, *i. e.* He must
"either be an Infidel or an Heretick
"who assents not to them, If *Unity*
" and *Charity* in the *simplicity* of Wor-
"ship be the thing you aim at, you
" must not give every man the liberty
" of worshiping in what Form he plea-
"seth, which destroys all *Unity*;
" nor Cursing many times instead of
" Praying, which destroys all *Charity*.
" The ancient and most simple way of
" Worship in the Church of God was
" by regular Forms prescribed for the
" publick use of Gods people in the
" Congregations, and not by unpreme-
" ditated undigested Prayers, which
" every man makes unto himself, as his
" fancy shall lead him. And if set *Forms*
" of Worship are to be retained, you
" will not easily meet with any, which
" hath more in it of the ancient *sim-*
"*plicity* of the Primitive Times, than
" the *English* Liturgy. And if ancient
" *simplicity* of Government be the point
" you drive at, what Government can
" you find more pure or *Ancient* than

" that of *Bishops*; of which you have
" this Character in the *Petition* of the
" County of *Rutland*, where it is said
" to be, That Government which the
" Apostles left the Church in; that the
" three Ages of Martyrs were gover-
" ned by; that the thirteen Ages since
" have always gloried in; (by their Sue-
" cession of Bishops from the Apostles,
" proving themselves Members of the
" *Catholick* and *Apostolick* Church) that
" our Laws have established; that so
" many Kings and Parliaments have
" protected; into which we were Ba-
" ptized; as certainly *Apostolical* as the
" Lords day; as the distinction of
" Books were written by such *Evange-*
" *lists* and *Apostles*, as the Consecrati-
" on of the *Eucharist* by *Presbyters*,
" &c. An ample commendation of E-
" piscopal Government, but such as ex-
" ceeds not the bounds of Truth or
" Modesty. Stand to these grounds for
" keeping *Unity* and *Charity* in the an-
" cient *simplicity* of *Doctrine*, *Worship*
" and *Government* in the Church of
God,

"God, and you ſhall ſee how chear-
"fully the Regal and Prelatical Par-
"ty will joyn hands with you, and
"embrace you with moſt dear affecti-
"ons. But you tell me, That *if I will have men in peace as Brethren, our* Union *muſt be Law, or Ceremonies, or indifferent Forms.* "This is a pretty
"Speculation, but ſuch as would not
"paſs for practicable in any well-go-
"verned Commonwealth, unleſs it be
"in the old *Utopia*, the new *Atlantis*,
"or the laſt diſcovered *Oceana*. For how
"can men poſſibly live in peace as Bre-
"thren, where there is no Law to li-
"mit their deſires, or direct their acti-
"ons? Take away Law, and every
"man will be a Law unto himſelf, and
"*do whatſoever ſeems beſt in his own*
"*eyes* without controul: then Luſt
"will be a Law for one; Fellony for
"another; Perjury ſhall be held no
"Crime; nor ſhall any Treaſon or Re-
"bellion receive their puniſhments; for
"*where there is no Law, there can be no*
"*Tranſgreſſion:* and where there is no

" Transgression, there can be no pu-
" nishment; punishments being only
" due for the breach of Laws. Thus is
" it also in the Worship of God; which
" by the Hedg of *Ceremonies* is preser-
" ved from lying open to all prophane-
" ness; and by *Set-Forms* (be they as
" indifferent as they will) is kept from
" breaking out into open confusion. St.
" *Paul* tells us, that *God is the God of*
" *Order, not of Confusion in the Churches.*
" If therefore we desire to avoid Confu-
" sion, let us keep some Order; and if
" we would keep Order, we must have
" some Forms; it being impossible that
" men should live in peace as Brethren
" in the house of God, where we do
" not find both. *David* has told us
" in the *Psalms*, that *Jerusalem* is like
" a *City* which is at *Unity* with it self.
" And in *Jerusalem* there were not on-
" ly solemn Sacrifices, *Set-Forms* of
" Blessing, and some significant *Ceremo-*
" *nies* prescribed by God; but *Musi-*
" *cal* Instruments and *Singers*, and *Lin-*
" *nen Vestures* for those *Singers*, and
cer-

"certain *Hymns* and ſeveral *Times* and "*Places* for them ordained by *David*. "Had every Ward in that City, and "every Street in that Ward, and every "Family in that Street, and perhaps "every Perſon in that Family uſed his "own way in Worſhiping the Lord his "God, *Jeruſalem* could not long have "kept the name of a *City*, much leſs "the honor of being that *City which* "*was at Unity in it ſelf*—When there-"fore the Apoſtle gives us this good "counſel, that we endeavour to *keep* "*the unity of the Spirit in the bond of* "*peace*, he ſeems to intimate that there "can be no *Unity*, where there is no "*Peace*; and that *Peace* cannot be pre-"ſerved without ſome *Bond*. If you "deſtroy all *Ceremonies* and ſubvert all "*Forms*, you muſt break the *Bond*; "and if the *Bond* be broken, you muſt "break the *Peace*; and if you break "the *Peace*, what becomes of the *Uni-*"*ty*? So that it is but the dream of a "dry Summer (as the ſaying is) to "think that without *Law*, or *Forms*,

or

"or *Ceremonies*, men may live peace-
"ably together as becomes Brethren,
"though they profess one Faith, ac-
"knowledg one Lord, receive one Ba-
"ptism, and be Sons of one Father
"which is in Heaven.

Having thus surveyed some particulars pertaining to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church, proceed we next to take a short view of some things delivered by this right learned man concerning the *Convocation*; which in ancient times was "part of the Parlia-
"ment, there being a
"Clause in every Letter of Summons
"by which the Bishops were required
"to attend in Parliament, that they
"should warn the Clergy of their re-
"spective Dioceses, some in their Per-
"sons, and others by their *Procura-*
"*tors* to attend there also. But this
"has been so long unpractis'd, that we
"find no foot-steps of it since the Par-
"liaments in the time of King *Ri-*
"*chard* the Second. It is true indeed
that

Exam. Hist. 126.

" that in the 8th. year of *Henry* VI. " there passed a Statute, by which it " was enacted, *That all the Clergy which should be called thenceforth to the Convocation by the Kings Writ, together with their Servants and Families, should for ever after fully use and enjoy such liberty and immunity in coming, tarrying and returning, as the Great men and Commonalty of the Realm of* England *called or to be called to the Kings Parliament have used, or ought to have or enjoy.* " Which though it makes " the *Convocation* equal to the Parlia- " ment as to the freedom of their Per- " sons; yet cannot it from hence be " reckoned or reputed for a part there- " of.

And as it is now no part of the Parliament, so neither has it any necessary dependence upon that Honourable Council and Assembly, either in the Calling or Dissolving of it, or in the Confirmation or Authorizing of the Acts thereof, but only in

Observat. on the History of the Reign of K. *Charles*, 220.

in the King himself; and not upon the Kings sitting in the Court of Parliament, but in his Palace or Court-Royal where ever it be. And this appears both by the Statute made in the 26th. of *Henry* VIII. and the constant practice ever since. Indeed since the 25th. year of *Henry* VIII. no *Convocation* is to assemble, but as it is Convocated and Convened by the Kings Writ? for in the Year 1532. the Clergy made their Acknowledgment and Submission in their *Convocation* to that mighty and great Monarch; which *Submission* passed into a *Statute* the very next year following. But this does not hinder, but that their Acts and Constitutions ratified by Royal Assent, are of force to bind the Subject to submit and conform to them. For before the *Statute* of *Præmunire*, and the *Act* for *Submission*, *Convocations* made *Canons* that were binding, altho none other than *Synodical* Authority did confirm the same. And certainly they must have

Exam. Hist. 97.

have the ſame power; when the Kings Authority ſignified in his Royal Aſſent is added to them. They alſo gave away the money of the Clergy, by whom they were choſen, even as the Commons in Parliament gave the money of the Cities, Towns and Countries, for which they ſerved. For in chuſing the Clerks for *Convocation*, there is an Inſtrument drawn up and ſealed by the Clergy, in which they bind themſelves to the Arch-Deacons of their ſeveral Dioceſes upon the pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, *Se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere, quicquid Dicti Procuratores ſui dixerint, fecerint vel conſtituerint*, *i. e.* to allow, ſtand and perform whatſoever their ſaid Clerks ſhall ſay, do, or condeſcend unto on their behalf. Nor is this a ſpeculative Authority only and not reducible unto practice, but precedented in Queen *Elizabeths* time. For in the year 1585. the *Convocation* having given one *Subſidy* confirmed by Parliament,

Obſ. 196.

ment, and finding that they had not done sufficiently for the Queens occasions, did after add a *Benevolence* or *Aid* of two shillings in the pound to be levied upon all the Clergy; and to be levied by such *Synodical* Acts and Constitutions, as they digested for that purpose, without having any recourse to the Parliament for it.

But against these things it was objected in the Long Parliament of King *Charles* I, That the Clergy had no power to make *Canons* without common consent in Parliament, because *in the* Saxon *times, Laws and Constitutions Ecclesiastical had the Confirmation of Peers, and sometimes of the people, unto which great Councils our Parliaments do succeed.*

Exam. Hist. 237. "Which argument (says our Reverend *Doctor*) if "it be of force to prove, that the Clergy can make no *Canons* without consent of the Peers and People in Parliament, it must prove also that the "Peers and People can make no *Statutes*

" *tutes* without consent of the Clergy
" in their *Convocation*. My reason is,
" because such Councils in time of the
" *Saxons* were mixt Assemblies, con-
" sisting as well of *Laicks* as *Ecclesia-*
" *sticks*? and the matters there conclu-
" ded on of a mixt nature also; *Laws*
" being passed as commonly in them in
" order to the good Governance of the
" Commonwealth, as *Canons* for the
" regulating such things as concerned
" Religion. And these great Councils
" of the *Saxons* being divided into
" two parts in the times ensuing, their
" Clergy did their work by themselves
" without any Confirmation of the
" King or Parliament, till the *Submis-*
" *sion* of the Clergy to King *Henry*
" VIII. And if Parliaments did succeed
" in the place of those great Councils,
" it was because that anciently the Pro-
" curators of the Clergy, not the Bi-
" shops only had their place in Parlia-
" ment, tho neither *Peers* nor *People*
" voted in the *Convocations*. Which be-
" ing so, it is not much to be admired
that

"that the *Commons* repined about the "disuse of the general making of "Church-Laws, as they did in the be-"ginning of the Long Parliament, when "they voted *the proceedings of the Clergy to be prejudicial and destructive to the Fundamental Liberties and Priviledges of the Subject.* "For besides "that this repining at the proceedings "of any Superiour Court does not "make its *Acts* illegal; there is a new "memorable passage in the Parliament "of the 51. of *Edw.* III. which will "clear this matter; which in brief is "this: The *Commons* finding them-"selves agrieved as well with certain "*Constitutions* made by the Clergy in "their *Synods*, as with some *Laws* or "*Ordinances* which were lately passed, "more to the advantage of the Clergy "than the common People, put in a "Bill to this effect, *viz. That no Act or Ordinance should from thenceforth be made or granted on the Petition of the said Clergy without consent of the Commons: and that the said Commons should*

not

not be bound in times to come by any Constitutions made by the Clergy of this Realm for their own advantage, to which the Commons of this Realm had not given consent. "The reason of which is "this, and 'tis worth the marking *Car eux ne veulent estre obligez anul de vos Estatuz ne ordinances faits sanz leur Assent*, i. e. *because the Clergy did not think themselves bound* (as indeed they were not in those times) *by any Statute, Act, or Ordinance made without their Assent in the Court of Parliament.* "And besides these precedents already "mentioned, there is another memo-"rable *Convocation* in the 4th. and 5th. "years of *Philip* and *Ma-*"*ry*; in which the Cler-"gy taking notice of an "Act of Parliament then newly pas-"sed, by which the Subjects of the "*Temporalty*, having Lands in the "yearly value of five pounds and up-"wards, were charged with finding "Horse and Armor according to the "proportion of their yearly Revenues

Introduct. unto *Exam. Hist.*

"and Possessions, did by their sole
"Authority in the *Convocation*, impose
"upon themselves and the rest of the
"Clergy of this Land, the finding of
"a like number of Horses, Armor
"and other necessaries for the War,
"according to their yearly Income,
"proportion for proportion, and rate
"for rate, as by that *Statute* hath been
"laid on the Temporal Subjects. And
"this they did by their own sole Au-
"thority, as was before said; order-
"ing the same to be levied on all such
"as were refractory, by *Sequestration*,
"*Deprivation*, *Suspension*, *Excommuni-*
"*cation*, without relating to any sub-
"sequent Confirmation by Act of Par-
"liament, which they conceived they
"had no need of.

Nor did the zeal of our learned *Doctor* here terminate; it was like *Aarons* Ointment, that descended from his Beard to the lowest Skirts and Fringes of his Garments. For first, as for the Bishops, he did not only write for them when their Order flourished, but he

he defended their Function and Honor when their power was expired. For that Episcopacy might never revive in this Kingdom, its enemies used all possible endeavours to render it odious to all sober and considering Christians. And to do that, 1. The Bishops were made the cause of the Civil War; to which calumny our *Doctor* answers; "Its true, the *Covenan-*
"*teers* called it the *Bishops*
"*War*, and gave out, that
"it was raised only to
"maintain the *Hierarchy*; The truth
"is, *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy* were made
"the *occasions*, but they were not the
"*causes* of the War; Religion being
"but the Vizard to disguise the busi-
"ness, which Covetousness, Sacriledg
"and Rapine had the greatest hand in.
"But the thing was thus. The King
"being engaged in a War with *Spain*,
"and yet deserted by those men who
"engaged him in it, was fain to have
"recourse to such other ways of Assi-
"stance as were offered to him. But

Observ. on--151.

what those ways were will be too tedious to acquaint the Reader with in this place: he may better inform himself in the *Observations* on Master *L'Estrange* his *History*. 2. Another Engine raised to demolish *Episcopacy*, was to persuade the People that Bishops were an imperious proud sort of men, or as Mr. *Baxter* (who was resolved as well to make up the measure of his own Incivilities as of the Bishops Afflictions) a *Turgid persecuting sort of Prelacy*; as also that in respect of their Studies, they were no way fit for Government, or to be *Barons* in Parliament. Unto which the *Doctor* answers with an old story of a Nobleman in K. *Henry* VIII's time, who told Mr. *Pace* one of the Kings *Secretaries*, in contempt of Learning, *That it was enough for* Noblemens *Sons to Wind their* Horn, *and carry their* Hawk *fair*, *and leave Learning to the study of mean men.* "To whom "Mr. *Pace* replied, *Then you and other* Noble-

Exam. Hist. 246.

"Noblemen *must be content that your* "*Children may wind their* Horns *and* "*keep their* Hawks, *whilst the Children* "*of mean men do manage matters of* "*State*. And certainly there can be no "reason, why men that have been ver-"sed in Books, studied in Histories, and "thereby made acquainted with the "chiefest Occurrences of most States "and Kingdoms, should not be thought "as fit to manage the Affairs of State, "as those who spend their time in "Hawking or Hunting, if not in worse "Employments. For that a *Superin-*"*duction* of Holy Orders should prove "a *Supersedeas* to all civil prudence, is "such a wild extravagant fancy, as "no man of Judgment can allow of. And as for the Clergies Pride and Co-vetousness, he thus tells their Accuser: "How sad their Conditi-"on is, and under what "impossibilities of giving "content unto the people. For if they "keep close, and privately, and live "any thing below their Fortunes, the *Cert. Epist.* 44.

"People then cry out, *O the base for-*
"*didness of the Clergy!* But if accord-
"ing to their means, or in any out-
" ward lustre; then on the other side,
"*Oh the pride of the Clergy!* But tell
" me (Mr. *Baxter*) if you can, in what
" the *Turgidness* or high swelling pride
" of the Prelates did appear most vi-
" sibly. Was it in the bravery of their
" Apparel, or in the train of their At-
" tendance, or in their Lordly Port, or
" lofty looks, or in all, or in none?
" Admitting the most and worst you
" can of these particulars, would you
" have men that shine in a *higher Orb*,
" move in a *lower Sphere*, than that
" in which God has placed them? Or
" being rank'd in Order and Degree
" about you, would you not have
" them keep that distance which be-
" longs to their Places: Or because
" you affect a *Parity* in the Church,
" would you have all men brought to
" the same *Level* with your self, with-
" out admitting *Sub* and *Supra* in the
" Scale of Government? If they were
your

" your *Fathers in God*, why did not
" you look upon them with ſuch re-
" verence as becomes Children? If
" your *Superiors in the Lord*, why did
" not you yield them that ſubjection
" which was due unto them? If fix'd
" in Place and Power above you by
" the Laws of the Land only, and no
" more than ſo, why did not you give
" obedience to thoſe Laws under which
" you lived, and by which you were
" to be directed? Take heed I beſeech
" you Mr. *Baxter*, that more Spiritual
" Pride be not found in that heart of
" yours, than ever you found worldly
" and external Pride in any of my
" Lords the Biſhops; and that you do
" not trample on them with greater
" inſolence (*Calco platonis Faſtum, ſed*
" *majori Faſtu*, as you know who ſaid)
" in theſe unfortunate days of their
" Calamity, than ever they expreſſed
" toward any in the time of their Glo-
" ry. Were it my caſe, as it is yours,
" I would not for ten thouſand worlds
" depart this life, before I had obtained

"their pardon, and given satisfaction
" to the world for these horrible Scan-
" dals. 3. As for those persons that were heartily affected with *Episcopacy*, and dissatisfied with the extinction of an Order so sacred and venerable, there was this way found out to quiet their discontents, *viz.* to persuade them that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were of equivolent importance, and comprehended under the same name in the Holy Scriptures. "But grant (says
Obser. 183. "this their Champion)
" that they be so: who,
" that pretends to *Logick*, can dispute
" so lamely, as from a *Community* of
" names to infer an *Identity* or *Same-*
" *ness* in the thing so named? *Kings* are
" called *Gods* in Holy Scripture; and
" God does frequently call himself by
" the name of *King*: yet if a man
" should thence infer, that from this
" *Community* of names, there arises an
" *Identity* or *Sameness* between God
" and the King, he might worthily be
" condemned for so great a Blasphe-
" mer.

" mer. St. *Peter* calls our Saviour Christ
" by the name of *Bishop*,
" and himself a *Presbyter* 1 Pet 2. 25.
" or *Priest*, or an *Elder*, as 1 Pet. 5. 1.
" we unhandsomly read
" it: yet were it a sorry piece of *Lo-*
" *gick* to conclude from hence, that
" there is no distinction between an
" *Apostle* and an *Elder*, the Prince of
" the Apostles, and a simple *Presbyter*;
" or between Christ the Supreme *Pa-*
" *stor* of his Church and every ordinary
" *Bishop*. Lastly, take it for granted
" that *Bishops* have an *Identity* or *Same-*
" *ness* in *Name*, *Office*, *Ordination* and
" *Qualification* with *Presbyters*, it will
" not follow convertibly that *Presby-*
" *ters* have the like *Identity* or *Same-*
" *ness* of *Qualification*, *Ordination*, *Name*
" and *Office*, which the *Bishop* hath.
" My reason is, because a *Bishop* being
" first Regularly and Canonically to be
" made a Priest before he take the Or-
" der and Degree of a *Bishop*, hath in
" him all the *Qualifications*, the *Ordina-*
" *tion*, *Name* and *Office* which a *Presbyter*
has;

" has; and something further super-
" added, as well in point of *Order* and
" *Jurisdiction*, which every *Presbyter*
" hath not: So that altho every *Bishop*
" be a *Priest*, or *Presbyter*, yet every
" *Presbyter* is not a *Bishop*. To make
" this clear by an example in the *Civil*
" Government. When Sir *Robert Cecil*,
" Knight, and principal *Secretary* of
" State was made first Earl of *Salisbu-*
" *ry*, and then Lord *Treasurer*, continu-
" ing *Knight* and *Secretary* as he was
" before; it might be said that he had
" an *Identity* or *Sameness* in *Name*, *Of-*
" *fice*, *Order* and *Qualification* with Sir
" *John Herbert* the other Secretary;
" yet this could not be said reciprocally
" of Sir *John Herbert*, because there
" was something superadded to Sir *Ro-*
" *bert Cecil*, *viz.* the Dignity of an *Earl*
" and the Office of Lord *Treasurer*,
" which the other had not. So true is
" that of *Lactantius*, *Adeo argumenta*
" *ex absurdo petita ineptos habent exi-*
" *tus*. It is ordinary for Arguments
" built upon weak grounds to have
worse

"worse Conclusions. And a better Instance cannot be given of this, than in the Retortion that Mr. *Selden* made to one in the House of *Commons*, who disputed against the Divine Right of *Episcopacy*, His argument was this. "1. That *Bishops* are *Jure Divino* is "of Question. 2. That *Archbishops* "are not *Jure Divino* is out of Que-"stion. 3. That *Ministers* are *Jure* "*Divino*, there is no Question. Now "if *Bishops* which are questioned whe-"ther *Jure Divino* shall Suspend Mi-"nisters which are *Jure Divino*, I leave "it to you Mr. *Speaker*. Which Mr. "*Selden* (whether with greater Wit or "Scorn is hard to say) thus retorted on "him. 1. That the *Convocation* is "*Jure Divino*, is a Question. 2. That "*Parliaments* are not *Jure Divino*, is "out of Question. 3. That *Religion* "is *Jure Divino*, is no Question. Now, "Mr. *Speaker*, that the *Convocation* "which is questioned whether *Jure* "*Divino*, and *Parliaments* which out

Ib. 188.

"of

"of Question are not *Jure Divino*, "should meddle with *Religion*, which "questionless is *Jure Divino*, I leave to "you Mr. *Speaker*.

There are some other Points relating to *Episcopacy*, which Dr. *Heylyn* has long time since cleared and determined. And if some of our pretending *States-men* had considered and read what was written upon those Subjects, their time and pains would have been more profitably spent to the honor and security of this Church and Kingdom, than in raising doubts and scruples, which had long before been so clearly stated and resolved. For, 1. As for *Bishops* sitting in Parliament to Vote in Causes of *Blood* and *Death*, this the *Doctor* evinced not only in the Tract, entituled, *De Jure paritatis Episcoporum*, but in his *Observations* upon Mr. *L'Estrange's History*, where he says, "that altho the ancient *Canons* disable *Bishops* from Sentencing any man to Death, yet they do not from being *Assistants*

P. 224.

sistants in such cases; from taking Examinations, hearing Depositions of Witnesses, or giving Counsel in such matters as they saw occasion. The *Bishops* sitting as *Peers* in the *English* Parliament, were never excluded from the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial, from any such *Assistances*, as by their Gravity and Learning and other Abilities, they were enabled to give in any dark and difficult business (tho of *Blood* and *Death*) which were brought before them. 2. With the like solid reasoning, the *Doctor* has evinced the *Bishops* to be one of the *Three Estates*. For, not to mention what he says upon this Argument in his *Stumbling-Block of Disobedience*: That they have their Vote in Parliament as a *Third Estate*, not in capacity of *Temporal Barons* (altho they are so, as Mr. *Selden* evinces, and an Act of Parliament, *Stat.* 25. *Edw.* III.) will evidently appear from these following Reasons, "For, first the Clergy in all other

Titles of Hon. p. 2. cap. 5.

" other Christian Kingdoms of these
" *North-West* Parts make the *Third*
" *Estate*; that is to say, in the *German*
" Empire, as appears by *Thuanus* the
" *Historian, lib.* 2. In *France*, as is af-
" firmed by *Paulus Æmilius*, *lib.* 9.
" In *Spain*, as testifieth *Bodinus de Re-*
" *publ. lib.* 3. For which also consult
" the general *History* of *Spain*, as in
" point of practice, *lib.* 9, 10, 11, 14.
" In *Hungary*, as witnesseth *Bonfinius*,
" *Decl.* 2. *lib.* 1. In *Poland*, as is verified
" by *Thuanus* also, *l.* 56. In *Denmark*,
" as *Pontanus* tells us *in Historia rerum*
" *Danicarum, l.* 7. The *Swedes* observing
" anciently the same Form and Order
" of Government as was used by the
" *Danes*. The like we find in *Camden*
" for the Realm of *Scotland*, in which
" anciently the *Lords Spiritual*, viz.
" *Bishops, Abbots*, and *Priors* made the
" *Third Estate*. And certainly it was
" very strange, if the *Bishops* and other
" Prelates in the Realm of *England*,
" being a great and powerful Body,
" should move in a lower Sphere in
England;

" *England*, than they do elſewhere.
" But 2dly. Not to ſtand only upon
" probable inferences, we find firſt in
" Hiſtory, touching the Reign and
" Acts of *Henry* V. *That when his Fu-*
" *nerals were ended, the* Three Eſtates
" *of the Realm of* England *did aſſemble*
" *together, and declared his Son King*
" Henry VI. *being an Infant of eight*
" *Months old to be their Sovereign*
" *Lord, as his Heir and Succeſſor.* And
" if the *Lords Spiritual* did not then
" make the *Third Eſtate*, I would fain
" know who did? Secondly, The *Pe-*
" *tition* tendred to *Richard* Duke of
" *Gloceſter*, to accept the Crown, oc-
" curring in the Parliament Rolls, runs
" in the name of the *Three Eſtates* of
" the Realm, that is to ſay, the *Lords*
" *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and the *Com-*
" *mons* thereof. Thirdly, *In the ſaid*
" *Parliament of the ſaid* Rich. *Crowned*
" *King, it is ſaid expreſly, That at the*
" *requeſt and by the conſent of the* Three
" Eſtates *of this Realm, that is to ſay,*
" *the* Lords Spiritual *and* Temporal,
and

" *and* Commons *of this Land Assembled*
" *in this present Parliament, and by Au-*
" *thority of the same, it be Pronounced,*
" *Decreed and Declared, That our Sove-*
" *reign Lord the King was and is the ve-*
" *ry and undoubted King of this Realm*
" *of* England, *&c.* Fourthly, *It is acknow-*
" *ledged in the* Statute of 1 *Eliz.* c. 3.
" *where the* Lords Spiritual *and* Tempo-
" ral, *and the* Commons *in that Par-*
" *liament Assembled, being said ex-*
" *presly and* in terminis, *to represent*
" *the* Three Estates *of this Realm of*
" England, *did recognize the Queens Ma-*
" *jesty to be their true, lawful, and un-*
" *doubted Sovereign Liege Lady and*
" *Queen.* Add unto these the Testi-
" mony of Sir *Edward Cooke*, tho a pri-
" vate person, who in his Book of the
" *Jurisdiction of Courts* (published by
" Order of the *Long Parliament*) *c.* 1.
" doth expressly say, *That the Parlia-*
" *ment consists of the Head and the Body,*
" *that the Head is the King, that the*
" *Body is the* Three Estates, *viz.* the
" *Lords Spiritual, Temporal*, and the
Com-

"*Commons.* In which words we have "not only the Opinion and Testimo-"ny of that learned Lawyer, but the "Authority of the *Long Parliament* "also, tho against it self.

I hope the perusal of these things will be no less acceptable to the sober Reader, than the transcribing of them has been unto my self; which I have done to the end as well of informing my Country-men about the Rights of the Crown and Privileges of the Church and Clergy, as to shew that Dr. *Heylyn* had a zeal according unto knowledg, and was not less zealous for knowledge-sake.

And the *Doctor* having thus stood up in the defence of *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy*, both in their prosperous and adverse condition; when the black Cloud was dispelled, and a fair Sunshine began to dawn upon these harrassed and oppressed *Islands*, by the Return of his Sacred Majesty, this excellent man having in his mind *Tullies* Resolution, *Defendi Rempub. Adole-*

ſcens, non deſeram Senex, thought it unbecoming him to deſert the Church in any of its preſſing needs: and therefore when the *door of Hope* began to *open*, he buſied his active and ſearching mind in finding out ſeveral expedients for the reſtoring and ſecuring of its Power and Privileges in future Ages againſt the attempts of Factious and Sacrilegious men. And the firſt thing that he engaged in, was to draw up ſeveral Papers, and tender them to thoſe Perſons in Authority, who in the days of Anarchy and Oppreſſion, had given the moſt ſignal Teſtimonies of their Affection to the Church. In which Papers he firſt ſhewed what Alterations, Explanations, *&c.* were made in the Publick *Liturgy* in the Reigns of King *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*; that ſo thoſe who were intruſted with ſo ſacred a *Depoſitum*, might be the better enabled to proceed in the Alteration and enlargement of it; as they afterward did, and as it now ſtands by Law Eſtabliſhed in

in this Church. Secondly, Whereas in the first year of King *Edward* VI. it was enacted that all *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c.* should make their *Processes, Writings*, and *Instruments* in the Kings name, and not under their own Names——(which *Act* was afterward extended unto *Ordinations*, as appears by the Form of a Testimonial extant in *Sanders*'s Seditious Book, *De Schismate Anglicano*) and whereas the *Act* was repealed in the last year of Queen *Mary*, and did stand so repealed all the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was by the activity of some, and the incogitancy of others revived again in the first year of King *James*, but lay dorment all the Reign of that Prince, and during the first ten years of King *Charles* I. after which it was endeavoured to be set on foot by some disturbers of the Publick Peace; upon which, the King having it under the hand of his Judges, that the proceedings of the *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c.* were not contrary to the Laws of the Land, in-

ſerted their Judgment about it in a *Proclamation* for indemnifying the *Biſhops*, and the ſatisfying of his loving Subjects in that Point; therefore Dr. *Heylyn* conſidering that what the Judges did was extrajudicial, and that the Kings *Proclamation* expired at his Death, ſolicited the concerns of the Church in this Affair, *viz.* that the *Act* ſo paſſed, as before is ſaid, in the firſt of King *James*, might be repealed, that ſo the *Biſhops* might proceed as formerly in the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction without fear or danger. Thirdly, Whereas in the 16. year of *Charles* I. there paſſed an *Act* that no *Arch-Biſhop, Biſhop, &c.* ſhould miniſter any Corporal Oath unto any *Church-Warden*, *Sideman*, or any other perſon whatſoever, with many other things whereby the whole *Epiſcopal* Juriſdiction was ſubverted (except *Canonical* Obedience only) and all proceedings in Courts *Eccleſiaſtical* in Cauſes *Matrimonial*, *Teſtamentory*, &c. were weakened, and all *Epiſcopal* Viſitations were

were made void as to the ordinary Punishments of *Heresie*, *Schism*, *Non-conformity*, *Incest*, *Adultery* and other Crimes of *Ecclesiastical* Cognizance, therefore Dr. *Heylyn* stated the Case, and in a Petition drawn up by him, prayed, that for the restoring of the *Episcopal* Jurisdiction, the Clauses of that *Act*, and the penalties thereunto annexed, might be wholly abrogated and annulled.

But the most remarkable Effort of his zeal for the Church, after the Kings Restauration, was the Application made by him to the great Minister of State in those days, that there might be a *Convocation* called with the Parliament. What good effects were produced by his endeavours in that particular, let the Reader judg, when he has perused the following *Letter*, with which the Reverend *Doctor* saluted that powerful *Statesman*.

Right Honorable and my very good Lord,

'I Cannot tell how welcome or un-
'welcome this Addreſs may prove
'in regard of the greatneſs of the Cauſe
'and the low condition of the Party,
'who negotiates in it. But I am apt
'enough to perſuade my ſelf, that the
'honeſt zeal which moves me to it,
'not only will excuſe, but endear the
'boldneſs.

'There is, my Lord, a general
'Speech, but a more general Fear
'withal amongſt ſome of the Clergy,
'that there will be no *Convocation* cal-
'led with the following Parliament;
'which if it ſhould be ſo reſolved on,
'cannot but raiſe ſad thoughts in the
'hearts of thoſe, who wiſh the peace
'and happineſs of our *Engliſh Sion.*
'But being the Biſhops are excluded
'from their Votes in Parliament, there
'is no other way to keep up their Ho-
'nor and Eſteem in the eyes of the
people,

'people, but the retaining of their 'places in the *Convocation*. Nor have 'the lower Clergy any other means to 'shew their duty to the King, and 'keep that little freedom which is left 'unto them, than by assembling in 'such Meetings, where they may ex-'ercise the Power of a *Convocation*, in 'granting *Subsidies* to his Majesty, tho 'in nothing else. And should that 'Power be taken from them, according 'to the constant (but unprecedented) 'practice of the late Long Parliament, 'and that they must be taxed and ra-'ted with the rest of the Subjects with-'out their liking and consent, I cannot 'see what will become of the first *Ar-'ticle* of *Magna Charta*, so solemnly, 'so frequently confirmed in Parliament, 'or what can possibly be left unto them 'of either of the Rights or Liberties 'belonging to an *English Subject*.

'I know 'tis conceived by some, that 'the distrust which his Majesty hath 'in some of the Clergy, and the Diffi-'dence which the Clergy have of one

'another, is looked on as the principal
'cause of the *Innovation*: For I must
'needs behold it as an *Innovation*, that
'any Parliament should be called with-
'out a meeting of the Clergy at the
'same time with it. The first year of
'King *Edward* VI. Qu. *Mary*, and Qu.
'*Elizabeth* were times of greater diffi-
'dence and distraction, than this pre-
'sent Conjuncture. And yet no Parlia-
'ment was called in the beginning of
'their several Reigns, without the
'company and attendance of the *Con-*
'*vocation*, tho the intendments of the
'State aimed then at greater alterati-
'ons in the face of the Church, than
'are now pretended or desired. And
'to say the truth, there was no danger
'to be feared from a *Convocation*, tho
'the times were ticklish and unsettled,
'and the Clergy was divided into
'Sides and Factions, as the case then
'stood, and so stands with us at
'this present time. For since the Clergy
'in their *Convocations* are in no Autho-
'thority to propound, treat, or con-
clude

'clude any thing (more than the paſ-
'ſing of a *Bill* of *Subſidies* for his
'Majeſties uſe) until they are impow-
'red by the Kings *Commiſſion*, the King
'may tie them up for what time he
'pleaſes, and give them nothing but
'the opportunity of entertaining one
'another with the news of the day.
'But if it be objected, that the *Com-*
'*miſſion* now on foot for altering and
'explaining certain paſſages in the Pub-
'lick *Liturgy*, that either paſs inſtead
'of a *Convocation*, or elſe is thought to
'be neither competable nor conſiſtent
'with it; I hope far better in the one, and
'muſt profeſs that I can ſee no reaſon in
'the other. For firſt, I hope that the ſe-
'lecting of ſome few Biſhops and other
'learned men of the lower Clergy to
'debate on certain Points contained in
'the *Common-Prayer-Book*, is not inten-
'ded for a *Repreſentation* of the Church
'of *England*, which is a Body more
'diffuſed, and cannot legally ſtand
'bound by their *Acts* and *Counſels*.
'And if this *Conference* be for no other
pur-

'purpose, but only to prepare matter 'for a *Convocation* (as some say it is 'not) why may not such a *Conference* 'and *Convocation* be held both at once? 'For neither the selecting of some learned men out of both the *Orders* for 'the composing and reviewing of the 'two *Liturgies* digested in the Reign 'of King *Edward* VI. proved any hindrance in the calling of those *Convocations*, which were held both in the 'second and third, and in the fifth and 'sixth of the said Kings Reign. Nor 'was it found that the holding of a '*Convocation* together with the first 'Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth*, 'proved any hindrance to that *Conference* or *Disputation* which was designed between the Bishops and some 'learned men of the opposite parties. 'All which considered, I do most humbly beg your Lordship to put his Majesty in mind of sending out his *Mandates* to the two *Arch Bishops* for 'summoning a *Convocation* (according 'to the usual Form) in their several

Pro-

'*Provinces*, that this poor Church may
'be held with some degree of Venera-
'tion, both at home and abroad. And
'in the next place, I do no less humbly
'beseech your Lordship to excuse this
'freedom, which nothing but my zeal
'for Gods glory and my affection to
'this Church could have forced from
'me. I know how ill this present of-
'fice does become me, and how much
'fitter it had been, for such as shine in a
'more eminent Sphere in the holy *Hie-*
'*rarchy* to have tendered these Parti-
'culars to consideration. Which since
'they either have not done, or that no
'visible effect hath appeared thereof, I
'could not chuse but cast my poor
'Mite into the Treasury; which if it
'may conduce to the Churches good, I
'shall have my wish; and howsoever
'shall be satisfied in point of Consci-
'ence, that I have not failed of doing
'my duty to this Church, according
'to the light of my understanding;
'and then what happens unto me shall
'not be material. And thus again most
hum-

'humbly craving pardon for this pre-
'sumption, I kiss your Lordships hands,
'and subscribe my self

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble Servant to be commanded

Peter Heylyn.

Having thus surveyed the most important Occurrences of Dr. *Heylyn*'s Life, I doubt not but every judicious and impartial Reader will be convinced at once of his vast Abilities and Acquirements in the large Circle of Learning and Sciences, of his immovable Integrity in the Protestant Religion, and of his indefatigable Industry and Service to the just Interests both of the Crown and Mitre. For tho I will not say as St. *Paul* does of his Son *Timothy*, that there was *no man like-minded*, yet no one had more hearty and unbiassed affections, no man did more *naturally*

care

care for this Church and Kingdom than Dr. *Heylyn*; and at that time too, when he expected nothing for his pains and induſtry, but all the miſeries and miſchiefs, which armed Malice and ſucceſful uſurp'd Tyranny could inflict upon him. Preach indeed he could not in thoſe days of danger and perſecution. But he plentifully made up that unavoidable omiſſion by his Writings: through all which there runs ſuch a native plainneſs and elegancy, as can be parallel'd in very few of the Writers of that Age he lived in. In all his Books his Stile is ſmooth and maſculine, his Sence full and copious, his Words plain and intelligible, his Notions numerous and perſpicuous, his Arguments pertinent, ponderous and convincing. Thoſe Accompliſhments which rarely concentred in any Individual, were in Doctor *Heylyn*, in their eminency and perfection, *viz.* a ſolid Judgment, an acute Wit, a rich teeming Fancy, and a memory ſo prodigiouſly quick and tenacious, that it was the Store-houſe of

of most Arts and Sciences. And which is most wonderful, it was not impaired either by Age or by Afflictions. For many of those learned Volumes that have his learned Name annexed to them, were writ when his Sight failed him. And here I cannot forget that deserved Character, which a right learned man, and now an eminent Prelate of our Church bestowed on him, *viz.* That Dr. *Heylyn never writ any Book, let the Argument be never so mean and trivial, but it was worthy of a Scholars reading.* And another very celebrated *Professor* (now) in *Oxon*, paying him the respects of a Visit at *Abingdon*, returned home with the profoundest Admiration of his incomparable Abilities, saying, *That he never heard any* Doctor *of the* Chair *deliver his Judgment more copiously and perspicuously upon any Subject, than our* Doctor *did upon those various Theological Points, that were proposed to him.* Insomuch that what *Livie* affirmed of *Cato*, might without any injury to Truth be affirmed of this

this Reverend person, *Natum ad id diceres, quodcunque ageret.*

And 'tis just matter of wonder, how any Scholar that had so many Sicknesses and Avocations from the *Muses* in his Childhood and Youth, and that was incumbred with the burthen of so many secular businesses in his middle Age, should arrive to such vast knowledg and improvements. For he was a *Critick* (and that no vulgar one) both in the *Greek* and *Latine* Languages: A polite *Humanist*, being exactly acquainted with the best *Poets*, *Orators* and *Historians* : He was also an excellent *Poet*; but a more able Judg of it in others, than a practiser of it himself. *Philosophy* he studied no farther, than as it was subservient to nobler Contemplations. But as for *History*, *Chronology*, and *Geography*, they were as familiar to him, as the Transactions of one months business can be to any private person. And that *Divine* is yet to be named, whose knowledg did exceed Dr. *Heylyn's* in the *Canon*, *Civil*, *Statute*,

Statute, or *Common* Laws: To the profession of which last if he had betook himself, few men in the Nation would have exceeded him either in Fame or Estate.

In all things that were either spoke or writ by him, he did *loqui cum vulgo*, so speak as to be understood by the meanest Hearer, and so write as to be comprehended by the most vulgar Reader. "It is true indeed (as he himself observes) "that when there is ne-"cessity of using either "*Terms* of *Law*, or *Logical* Notions, "or any other words of *Art*, an Au-"thor is then to keep himself to such "*Terms* and *Words*, as are transmitted "to us by the Learned in their several "Faculties. But to affect *new Notions*, "and indeed *new Nothings*, when there "is no necessity to invite us to it, is a "Vein of writing which the two great "Masters of the *Greek* and *Roman* Elo-"quence had no knowledg of. But "many think, that they can never speak elegantly

Observ. on the Hist.---*page* 2.

" elegantly, nor write ſignificantly, ex-
" cept they do it in a language of their
" own deviſing, as if they were aſha-
" med of their Mother-Tongue, and
" thought it not ſufficiently curious to
" expreſs their fancies. By means where-
" of more *French* and *Latine* words
" have gained ground upon us ſince
" the middle of Queen *Elizabeth*, than
" were admitted by our Anceſtors
" (whether we look upon them as the
" *Britiſh* or *Saxon* Race) not only ſince
" the *Norman*, but the *Roman* Con-
" queſt. A folly handſomly derided in
" an old blunt *Epigram*, where the
" ſpruce Gallant thus beſpeaks his
" Page, or Laquey

Diminutive and my defective Slave,
Reach my Corps Coverture immediately:
'Tis my complacency that Veſt to have,
T' inſconce my perſon from Frigidity.
The Boy believed all Welſh *his Ma-*
ſter ſpoke,
Till rail'd in Engliſh, *Rogue go fetch*
my Cloak.

And yet this ſimplicity and plainneſs of writing is the true cauſe, why ſo many were heretofore and are ſtill ſcandalized at the *Doctors* Books. But let the Reader attend to him whilſt he pleads for himſelf: "The "truth is, I never volunta- "rily engaged my ſelf in "any of thoſe publick "Quarrels, by which the Unity and "Order of the Church of *England* hath "been ſo miſerably diſtracted in theſe "later times. Nor have I lov'd to run "before or againſt Authority; but al- "ways took the juſt Counſels and "Commands thereof for my ground "and warrant: which when I had re- "ceived, I could not think that there "was any thing left on my part, but "*obſequii gloria*, the honor of a chear- "ful and free obedience. And in this "part of my obedience, it was my lot "moſt commonly to be employ'd in "the *Puritan* Controverſies; in mana- "ging of which, altho I uſed all *equa-* "*nimity* and temper which reaſonably could

Pref. to *Theol. Vet.*

"could be expected (the argument and "persons against whom I writ being "well considered) yet I did thereby so "exasperate that prevailing party, that "I became the greatest object of their "spleen and fury.

When the Jewish Libertines could not resist the wisdom, and spirit, and excellence of Elocution with which St. *Stephen* *Acts 6.10.* defended himself and blessed Saviour, we find in the next *Chapter*, that his enemies deserted all rational arguings, and betook themselves to acts of the most inhumane violence; first *gnashing upon him with their teeth*, and then assaulting him with stones. Add the truth is, Dr. *Heylyn* had few other answers returned to the many learned Volumes written by him, besides vollies of audacious and virulent slanders to wound his name, and to hinder easie and credulous persons from perusing of his Books. He tells one, who called him the *Primipilus*, or *chief of the Defenders* of Prelacy, that

altho he did ſometimes put vinegar in his Ink to make it quick and operative, as the caſe did require, yet there was nothing of ſcurrility or malice in it; nothing that ſavoured of uncharitableneſs, or of ſuch bitter reproaches, as he was unjuſtly charged with. When he met with ſuch a Fire-brand as Mr. *Burton*, it was not to be expected, that he ſhould pour oil upon him to increaſe the flame, and not bring water to quench it, whether foul or clean. And when he met with other unſavory pieces, it was fit that he ſhould rub them with a little ſalt to keep them ſweet. The good *Samaritan*, when he took care of the wounded paſſenger, is ſaid to have poured into his wounds both *Oil* and *Wine*, i. e. *Oil* to cheriſh and refreſh it, and *Wine* to cleanſe it; *Oleum quo foveatur, vinum quo mordeatur*. He had not been a skilful Chirurgeon, if he had done otherwiſe. And the *Doctor* being to contend with ſo many and malicious Adverſaries, had

Cent. Epiſt. 31.

had been a very unwary writer, had he made no diſtinction, but accoſted them all after one and the ſame manner. The grand *Exemplar* of Sweetneſs, Candor and Ingenuity, uſed the ſevereſt invectives againſt the hypocritical *Scribes* and *Phariſees*. Certainly one Plaiſter is not medicinal to all kind of ſores; ſome of which may be cured with Balm, when others more corrupt aud putrified, do require a Lancing. And thus did this Reverend man deal with the enemies of the King and Church; inſomuch that he received thanks from the Miniſters of *Surrey* and *Bucks* (in the name of themſelves and that party) for his fair and reſpectful language to them, both in his Preface to his *Hiſtory of the Sabbath* and concluſion of the ſame. To conclude, unleſs good words may receive pollution by confuting bad principles, and deſcribing bad things, nothing of any rude or uncharitable language can be found in any of the Writings of Dr. *Heylyn*.

But as all men have not abilities to write Books, ſo neither to paſs ſentence on them, when written. And yet whatever hard cenſures the *Doctors* Books have met with in the world, I am perſuaded his moſt inveterate enemies who will have but ſo much patience as to peruſe impartially this Account given of his Life, will believe that one who had acted, written and ſuffered ſo much in the defence of the King and Church, might have met with ſome Rewards or Reſpects in ſome meaſure ſuitable to his merits. But God Almighty and wiſe Providence had otherwiſe ordered the Event of things; purpoſing (no doubt) that this excellent perſon, who had for the greateſt part of his pilgrimage encountred with the ſpite and threatnings, oppoſitions and perſecutions of thoſe who had ſubverted Monarchy in the State, and Order and Decency in the Church, (ſhould (notwithſtanding the Kings Reſtauration) have adminiſtred to him another Trial of his paſſive Fortitude:

and

and that was to wreſtle with the neglects and ingratitude of his Friends. Indeed ſome Right Reverend Fathers in the Church (amongſt whom Biſhop *Couſins* ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence) proteſted not their wonder only, but their grief, that ſo great a Friend and Sufferer for the Royal Family and Church, ſhould like the wounded men in the Goſpel, be *paſſed by* both by Prieſt and Levite, and have no recompence for his paſt Services, beſides the pleaſure of reflecting on them. But the *Stateſ-men* of thoſe days rank'd the *Doctor* with the *Milites emeriti*, the *old Cavaliers*, of whoſe Principles there could be no fear, and of whoſe Services there could be no more need. But notwithſtanding all the frowns of Fortune, yet he could ſay his *Nunc Dimittis* with more ſenſible joy and chearfulneſs, than he was able to do, for many of the precedent years; having the ſatisfaction to live, (I cannot ſay to ſee) till the King was reſtored to his Throne, and the Church to its Immu-

nities and Rights. *Yea, let them take all, forasmuch as my Lord the King is come again in peace unto his own House.* The *Doctor* had nothing given him, but what neither Law nor Justice could detain from him; and that was the former Preferments that he had in the Church, from the profits and possession of which he had been kept above seventeen years. And with those he contentedly acquiesced; and not unlike some of the old famous *Romans*, after they had done all the Services they could for their Country, returned home to their poor Wives, and little Farms, yoking again their Oxen for the Plough, when they had fettered their enemies in Chains. Above all, this excellent Scholar enjoyed the inward peace and tranquillity of his own mind; in that he *fought a good fight, kept the Faith, finished his course*, discharged his Duty and Trust, and had been *counted worthy to suffer the loss of all things* (except his Conscience) for the best of Princes, and the most

righteous

righteous of Causes in the world. And I pray God grant that an old observation which I have somewhere met withal, may not be verified either as to the concerns of Dr. *Heylyn*, or any of the old *Royallists*, viz. *It is an ill sign of prosperity to any Kingdom, where such as deserve well, find no other recompence, than the peace of their own Consciences.*

But alas! all these unkindnesses and neglects were trivial to the irreparable loss of his eye-sight: of which he found a sensible and gradual decay for many years; and therefore was the better enabled to endure it. But about the year 1654. *tenebrescunt videntes per foramina*; those that looked out of the windows were darkened, and he was constrained to make use of other mens eyes (but not in the sense as great persons do) to guide him in the Motions of his Body, tho not in the Contemplations of his Mind.

Like good old *Jacob*, *his eyes were dim and he could not see*: but there was this Gen. 48. 10.

difference

difference between them, that the *Patriarchs* eyes were grown dim by reason of Age, but Dr. *Heylyns* were darken'd with Study and Induſtry. As the whole frame of his Body was uniform, comely and upright, his Stature of a middle ſize and proportion; ſo his Eye naturally was ſtrong, ſparkling, and vivacious; and as likely to continue uſeful and ſerviceable to its Owner, as any mans whatſoever. But by conſtant and indefatigable Study (which for many years he took in the night, being hurried up and down with a ſucceſſive crowd of Buſineſs in the day) either the *Cryſtalline* humor was dried up, or the *optick* Nerves became perforated and obſtructed; by which means the *Viſive* Spirits were ſtop'd, and an imperfect kind of *Cataract* was fixed in his eyes, which neither by inward Medicines nor outward Remedies could ever be brought to that maturity and conſiſtence, as to be fit for cutting. *Deteſtabilis eſt cæcitas, ſi nemo oculos perdiderit, niſi cui eruendi ſunt.* No

puniſh-

punishment would be more dreadful than blindness, if none lost their eyes, but those that had them pulled out by tortures and burning basons. But this * *Sors Letho dirior omni*, this heavy affliction was by God laid upon Dr. *Heylyn* to exercise his Faith, to quicken Devotion, to try his Patience, and to prepare him for his merciful Rewards. *Animo multis modis variisque delectari licet, etiamsi non adhibeatur Aspectus, Loquor autem de docto homine & erudito, cui vivere est cogitare: Sapientis autem cogitatio non fermè ad investigandum adhibet oculos advocatos: etenim si nox non adimit vitam beatam, cur dies nocti similis adimat?* A man may recreate himself various ways, altho his sight fail, if he be knowing and learned: For a wise man will entertain himself with the noblest Contemplations without the help of his bodily organs; the life of such an one consisting more

* *Stalius* calls blindness so.

Tul. Tus. Quæst. lib. 5.

in

in Meditation than Action. And if a dark night cannot render our lives miſerable, why ſhould day-light be able to effect it, which to a blind man is no other than night? And that incomparable Author proceeds in preſenting his Reader with many inſtances of perſons that were highly uſeful in their Generations after they were deprived of their ſight. And Dr. *Heylyn*, as well as *Cnëus Auſidius*, having *Animum acutum*, was able to give advice to his Friends, to ſolve Doubts, to clear and defend Truth, to write Hiſtories, & *videre in literis*: For when *the windows* were quite *darkened*, *the Candle of the Lord*, his intellectual lamp, burnt more clear and bright within him. *Democritus* (as the Orator goes on) *luminibus amiſſis, Alba ſcil. & Atra diſcernere non poterat: at verò bona, mala; equa, iniqua; honeſta, turpia; utilia, inutilia; magna, parva poterat: & ſine varietate colorum licebat vivere beatè: ſine notione rerum non licebat.*——

Ibid.

Our

Our Reverend *Divine*, when he had loſt his eyes, could not ('tis true) diſcern white from black; but which was a more advantageous Speculation, he could diſcern good from evil; and juſt from unjuſt, and things lovely, and honeſt and profitable, from thoſe which were impure, unrighteous and incommodions. And a man may be happy, tho he does not diſcern variety of Colours, but he cannot be ſo, unleſs he his *ſenſes exerciſed to diſcern between good and evil.*

Another of the *Roman* Orators reckons up many advantages of blindneſs; telling us, *Cæcus non iraſcitur, non odit, non concupiſcit; & cum corpora noſtra vigorem de luminibus accipiunt, pereant cum ſuis vitia cauſis,* i. e. one that is deprived of ſight has no objects to kindle his Anger, to precipitate his Revenge, to inflame his Lips; which muſt needs languiſh and decay, when thoſe bodily Members, through which they commonly gain admiſſion into

Quintilian. in Declam.

our

our Souls, are impaired and become uſeleſs. And amongſt other advantages which the *Doctor* received from this heavy misfortune, he acquaints Mr. *Harington* of one: "For "looking on him (as he "writes) as a generous "and ingenuous Adverſa-"ry, I ſhould count it no crime to be "ambitious of your ſociety and friend-"ſhip, had not my great decay of ſight "(beſides other infirmities growing on "me) rendred me more deſirous of a "private and retired life, than of ſuch "an agreeable converſation. And ſo apprehenſive was he of his approaching End, that he elſewhere tells his Reader, "The ſmall remainder of my "life will be better ſpent in looking "back upon thoſe *errors*, which the "infirmities of nature and other hu-"mane frailties, have made me ſubject "to, that ſo I may *redeem the time*, "*becauſe* my former *days were evil*. And I can truly ſay, that of thoſe ſhort *Memoirs* which he left behind him of the eleven

Certam. Epiſt. 310.

eleven first *Lustrums* of his Life(for they extended no further) he ever and anon interspersés some Religious Sentence or other, relating to those Vicissitudes, with which the Divine Providence was pleased to exercise him, to express the devout affections that he had toward his Maker and Redeemer; taking all occasions, according to the various accidents aud occurrences that happened unto him, to stir up his Soul, either to magnifie the Mercies, or acknowledg the Justice, or adore the Wisdom, or trust in the Power, or rely upon the promises of God. When
*one of his Adversaries Sir *W. S.* was surprized with the
Advertisements, that were so speedily made upon one of his Books, and twitted him with having *numerous Helpers*; conceiving it impossible, that a Treatise so accurately writ should be exposed to publick light within so short a space of time; the *Doctor* replies, "Tho I cannot say that I have many "*Helpers*, yet I cannot but confess in all

" all humble Gratitude, that I have one
" great *Helper*, which is *instar omnium*,
" even the Lord my God: *Auxilium*
" *meum a Domino, my help cometh even*
" *from the Lord which made Heaven and*
" *Earth.* And I can say with the like
" humble acknowledgments of Gods
" mercies to me, as *Jacob* did, when he
" was ask'd about the quick dispatch
" which he made in preparing *savoury*
" *meat* for his aged Father, *Voluntas Dei*
" *fuit, ut tam citò occurreret mihi quod*
" *volebam*, Gen. 27. 20. It is Gods good-
" ness and his only, that I am able to do
" what I do.

That name is yet to be mentioned, that was ever loaded with more reproach and infamy than Dr. *Heylyn*'s. And he ever kept silence, unless it was when he was accused of gross errors against any Fundamentals in Religion: For that he looked upon to be a self-conviction; having that advice of St. *Hierom* frequently in his Writings, but oftener in his thoughts, *In suspicione hæreseos se nolle quenquem fore patientem.*

tem. But as for private whispers or bold calumnies, which reach'd only to the private concerns of his Name and Repute, they did not in the least move him; having long learned with him in the old *Historian* (as he once told one of his friends) *civili animo laceratam existimationem ferre*, to bear with an undisturbed mind the greatest calumnies which either the tongues or pens of malicious men could lay upon him. But when ever the concerns of Church or State in general, or his Friends in particular required his helping hand, then like the dumb Son of *Cræsus*, he found a Tongue (and a Pen too) tho no extremity of his own (unless in the Instance now mentioned) could remove him from his espoused silence.

And as he had learned to contemn calumnies himself; so he endeavoured to fix the same resolution in the poor ejected Clergy; thus writing to them, "You, "my Brethren, who have

Cert. Epistola. Epist. Ded.

" been so long trained up in the School
" of patience; the suffering of Re-
" proaches, whether from the Tongue
" or Pen, from the Press or Pulpit, can-
" not be taken out as a new Lesson,
" never learnt before. I know I speak to
" men, who are not to be put in mind
" of that which you have learned in
" *Æsop's* Fables: In one of the *Morals*,
" you are taught to imitate those gene-
" rous Horses, *Qui latrantes caniculos*
" *cum contemptu prætereunt*, which use
" to pass by barking Curs with neglect
" and scorn: Or to be told of that
" which you once read in
" the Annals of *Tacitus*,
" viz. *Convitia spreta exo-*
" *lescunt*, Those contu-
" melies die soonest, that are least re-
" garded: or to be remembred of that
" memorable saying of St. *Cyprian*, who
" had suffered as much in this kind, as
" the most amongst us; but having suf-
" fered no more from the tongues of
" his enemies, than Christ our Saviour
" did before from the hands of *Judas*,
he

Tacit. Anal. l. 13.

" he thus encouraged himſelf and
" others by this golden ſentence, *Nec*
" *nobis turpe eſſe pati, quæ paſſus eſt*
" *Chriſtus; nec illis gloriam facere, quæ*
" *fecerit* Judas. Which paſſages, tho
" very full of uſe and comfort, how
" infinitely ſhort are they of that cele-
" ſtial conſolation, which our Saviour
" gives us in his Goſpel, pronouncing
" a *Bleſſing upon all thoſe who are perſe-*
" *cuted and reviled, and againſt whom*
" *all manner of evil is falſly ſpoken for*
" *his name ſake*; aſſuring them, that it
" *ſhould be cauſe of gladneſs and rejoy-*
" *cing to them* in this preſent life, and
" of great reward in Heaven for the
" life to come. Let us therefore be-
" have our ſelves with ſuch Sobriety
" and Moderation, ſuch Piety and
" Chriſtian Candor, that the *ignorance*
" *of fooliſh men may be put to ſilence*,
" and that all thoſe who *ſpeak againſt*
" *us as evil-doers*, may be convicted of
" their faults and malicious ſpeaking,
" before God and man.——Let us en-
" tertain Fortune by the day, and pa-

"tiently ſubmit our ſelves to the ap-
"pointments of that heavenly Provi-
"dence, which powerfully diſpoſeth
"all things to the good of the Uni-
"verſe. So doing we ſhall ſhew our
"ſelves the Followers of that Lamb of
"God, who opened not his mouth be-
"fore the Shearers; the Scholars of
"that gracious Maſter, who when he
"was reviled, reviled not again, nor
"uſed any unbecoming ſpeeches in the
"midſt of his ſufferings.

Nor were theſe the only inſtances of ChriſtianGoodneſs,that were conſpicuous in this Reverend perſon. His Charity was more than verbal or perſuaſive. For not to enlarge upon thoſe particular Teſtimonies of his Liberality to private Chriſtians in relieving their Wants, as well as reſcuing them from their Errors and evil Principles (of which there might be given conſiderable Inſtances) thoſe publick demonſtrations of his Bounty and Generoſity in contributing to the neceſſities of his Prince, not only *to his power*, *but beyond*

yond his power, ought not to be passed over in silence. For first in the year 1639. when King *Charles* I. began his Journey against the *Scots*, the *English* Clergy by means of Arch-Bishop *Laud* (but first thought on and proposed by Dr. *Heylyn*) were aiding and assisting to his Majesty in their speedy and liberal Contributions; and the *Doctor* for his Parsonage of *Alresford* gave 50 *l.* for *South-Warnb.* 20 Marks; and at that time he was in the First-Fruits for it. He was the very first of of the Clergy that subscribed in *Hampshire,* and his example proved so powerful, that in that very County, the sum of what was given by the Clergy amounted to no less than 1348 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.* In the year 1642. when the War was actually begun, he attending upon his Royal Master at *Reading*, made a *Present* to him of Money and Plate, to the value of 100 *l.* Neither was his liberal hand defective in some other Instances of Bounty; for *An.Dom.* 2634, he gave 20 *l.* toward the repairing of

S. *Pauls* Church. And after the return of King *Charles* II. tho by the neglect of his Friends he was rendred an object of ſcorn and triumph to his Enemies, yet he gave in the Royal Benevolence 50 *l.* for his Parſonage of *Alresford*, beſides his ſhare of 1000 *l.* as he was *Prebendary* of *Weſtminſter*.

And that which enabled him to do theſe and many other ſuch Charitable acts, was an honeſt Providence or Thrift; that being (as one calls it) *the Fuel of Magnificence*. And certainly our Churches, with other Monuments of Honor, that are in this and other Nations erected to the Worſhip of God and the benefit of mankind, were no more built by the riotous prodigal Spend-thrift, than by the penurious Mammoniſt.

Temperance is the common Attendant of Frugality: in the exerciſe of which Virtue, the *Doctor* was a perfect Chriſtian Philoſoſopher. For in what ever he eat or drank, he confined himſelf to ſimple nouriſhments, deſigning only

only to ſatisfie natures neceſſities; but never irritating his Appetite with any artificial Delicacies either of Meat or Drink. And of all the calumnies with which his Reputation was ſullied and aſperſed, none of his virulent Enemies had the confidence ever to charge him either with incontinency or inſobriety. For he never gratified or diverted himſelf in any wanton behaviour or brutiſh deſires. And the only reaſon that induced him ſo ſoon to forſake the Seat of the Muſes and enter into the ſtate of Marriage, was to avoid all unchaſt and impure inclinations, and to be poſſeſſed of an habitual chaſtity of mind, as well as of body. To preſerve which, he had not only a continual watchfulneſs over his Appetite, being never ſeen raiſed by Drink beyond his uſual chearfulneſs; but like the holy Apoſtle he was

in wearineſs and painfulneſs, in watchings often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often. 2 Cor. 11. 27.

His Study was ſeldom without his compa-

ny, except his Meals, or neceſſary buſineſs, or the Rules of Civility obliged him to take his leave of it. Little or no exerciſe was allowed by him for his bodily health, except walking in his Houſe or Garden; and then he was digeſting and fixing thoſe Notions and Obſervations in his mind, which he had before read, or cauſed to be read to him. His Faſtings or Abſtinencies were not only very frequent, but ſo long and tedious, that his bodily *moiſture was turned into the drought of* Summer; and his digeſtive faculty became ſo debilitated and depraved, that he was very often ſubject unto Fevers. And perhaps the ſeverity and frequency of his Faſtings might be the cauſe of his little and ſhort Angers, which were quickly raiſed and as ſpeedily ſtill'd and calmed in him; and were alſo rendred very tolerable unto thoſe on whom they lighted, not only by the ſhortneſs of their continuance, but by the wonderful goodneſs of his Nature, which

Pſal. 32. 4.

which expreſs'd it ſelf (as in many other things, ſo) in an habitual pleaſantneſs and chearfulneſs of converſation, and a tender compaſſion to all perſons that groaned under the weight of any Trouble or Affliction.

The Son of *Syrach* reſembles him, that *regardeth dreams, to one that catcheth at a ſhadow, and followeth after the wind*, And he gives a reaſon, *For dreams have deceived many, and thoſe have failed that have put their truſt in them.* But notwithſtanding his decrying of Dreams as vain and fooliſh; yet in the very ſame Chapter he intimates, that *if they be ſent from the moſt High in our Viſitation, we may then ſet our hearts upon them.* And ſuch a Dream as this had our Reverend *Doctor* of his approaching End. For on *Saturday* night before his fatal Sickneſs, he had this Dream, *viz.* That being in an extraordinary pleaſant Place, and admiring the beauty and glory

Eccluſ. c. 34. 2, 7.

Verſe 6.

glory of it, he saw King *Charles* I. his Martyr'd Master, and heard him speaking to him in these words, *viz.* Peter, *I will have you buried under your Seat at Church, for you are rarely seen but there, or in your Study.* This Dream he related to his Wife the very next morning, telling her it was extraordinary and significant, and desired her that his Burial might be exactly according to it. On the *Monday* he purchased an House in the *Almonry*, and the same day had the Writings Sealed and the Money paid; and at night told his dear Companion, that he had bought that House on purpose near the *Abbey*, that she might be near the Church, and serve God after his Copy and Example. And renewing the charge to her, he went to Bed in as good bodily health, as he had done before for many years; but after his first sleep, he found himself taken with a violent Fever, occasioned (as was conceived by his Physician) by eating of a little *Tansey* at Supper. It seized him,

May 1. 1662. and deprived him of his understanding for seven days: the eighth day he died; but for some hours before had the use of his Faculties restored to him, telling one of the *Vergers* of the Church, who came to him; *I know it is Church-time with you, and this is* Ascension-day, *I am ascending to the Church triumphant, I go to my God and Saviour, into Joys Celestial, and to Hallelujahs Eternal.* He died in his great *Climacterical* upon *Ascension-day* 1662. when our Blessed Saviour *entred into his Glory,* and as a Harbinger went to *prepare his place* for all his faithful Followers and Disciples.

The *Synagogus* annexed to Mr. *Herbert*'s Poems.

Mount, mount my Soul, and climb, or rather fly,
With all thy force on high.
Thy Saviour rose not only, but ascended;
And he must be attended,

Both

Both in his Conquest and his Triumph too
His Glories strongly woo
His Graces to them, and will not appear
In their full lustre, until both be there.

Where he now sits not for himself alone,
But that upon his Throne,
All his Redeemed may Attendants be,
Rob'd and Crown'd as he.
Kings without Courtiers are lone men, they say;
And do'st thou think to stay
Behind on earth, whilst thy King Reigns in Heaven?
Yet not be of thy happiness bereaven.

Nothing that thou canst think worth having's here:
Nothing is wanting there,
That thou canst wish to make thee truly blest,
And above all the rest,
Thy Life is hid with God in Jesus Christ,
Higher than what is high'st.

O gro-

O grovel then no longer here on earth,
Where misery every moment drowns thy mirth.

But towre, my Soul, and soar above the Skies,
Where thy true Treasure lies.
Tho with corruption and mortality,
Thou clogg'd and pinion'd be;
Yet thy fleet thoughts and sprightly wishes may
Speedily glide away.
To what thou canst not reach, at least aspire,
Ascend, if not indeed, yet in desire.

As for the Off-spring of his Loins, God gave him the blessing of the Religious man in *Psalm* 128. his Wife being like a *fruitful Vine*, and his Children (being in all eleven) as *Olive-plants* encompassed his *Table*: nay he *saw his Childrens Children*, and (which to him was more than all) he *saw peace upon Israel*; i.e. the Church and State restored, quieted and established after many

many concuſſions and confuſions, and a total Abolition of their Government.

But the iſſue of his Brain was far more numerous, than that of his Body; as will appear by the following Catalogue of Books written by him, *viz.*

Spurius, a Tragedy MSS. Written *An. Dom.* 1616.

Theomachia, a Comedy, MSS. 1619.

Geography, twice Printed at *Oxon*: in Quarto, 1621. 1624. and four times in *London*; but afterward in 1652. enlarged into a Folio, under the Title of *Coſmography*.

An Eſſay call'd *Auguſtus*, 1631. inſerted ſince into his *Coſmography*.

The Hiſtory of St. *George*, *London*, 1631. Reprinted 1633.

The Hiſtory of the *Sabbath*, 1635. Reprinted 1636.

An Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*, 1636. Afterward twice Reprinted.

An Anſwer to Mr. *Burtons* two Seditious Sermons, 1637.

A ſhort

A ſhort Treatiſe concerning a Form of Prayer to be uſed according to what is enjoyned in the 55. *Canon*, *MSS.* Written at the requeſt of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Antidotum Lincolnienſe, or an *Anſwer* to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Book, entituled, *Holy-Table, Name and Thing*, 1637. Reprinted 1638.

An uniform Book of Articles, fitted for Biſhops and Arch-Deacons in their *Viſitations*, 1640.

De Jure partialis Epiſcoporum, or containing the Peerage of the Biſhops. Printed in the laſt Collection of his Works, 1681.

A Reply to Dr. *Hackwel*, concerning the Sacrifice of the Eucharift *MSS.* 1641.

A Help to Engliſh Hiſtory, containing a Succeſſion of all the Kings, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Biſhops, *&c.* of *England* and *Wales*. Written *An. Dom.* 1641. under the name of *Robert Hall*, but now enlarged under the name of Dr. *Heylyn*.

The

The *History of Episcopacy*, London, 1641. And now Reprinted, 1681.

The *History of Liturgies*, Written 1642. and now Reprinted, 1681.

A *Relation* of the Lord *Hopton*'s Victory at *Bodmin*.

A *View* of the Proceedings in the *West* for a Pacification.

A *Letter* to a Gentleman in *Leicestershire* about the Treaty.

A *Relation* of the Proceedings of Sir *John Gell*.

A *Relation* of the Queens return from *Holland*, and the Siege of *Newark*.

The ✝, or *Black Cross*, shewing that the *Londoners* were the cause of the Rebellion.

The *Rebels Catechism*. All these seven Printed at *Oxon*, 1644.

An *Answer* to the Papists Groundless Clamor, who nick-name the Religion of the Church of *England* by the name of a *Parliamentary Religion*, 1644. and now Reprinted, 1681.

A *Relation* of the Death and Sufferings of *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, 1644.

The

The *Stumbling-Block* of Disobedience removed. Written 1644. Printed 1658. and Reprinted 1681.

An *Exposition* of the *Creed*. Folio. *London*, 1654.

A *Survey of France*, with an account of the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*. *London*, 1656. Quarto.

Examen Historicum, or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities and Defects in some modern *Histories*: in two Books. *London*, 1659. Octavo.

Certamen Epistolare, or the *Letter-Combat* managed with Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Bernard*, Mr. *Hickman*, and *J. H.* Esq; *London*, 1658. Octavo.

Historia Quinque-Articularis. Quarto. *London*, 1660. Reprinted, 1681.

Respondet Petrus, or, An *Answer* of *Peter Heylyn*, D. D. to Dr. *Bernards* Book, entituled, *The Judgment of the late Primate*, &c. *London*, 1658. Quarto.

Observations on Mr. Ham. L'Strange's

History, on the Life of King *Charles* I. *London*, 1658. Octavo.

Extraneus Vapulans, or a Defence of those *Observations*. *London*, 1658. Octavo.

A *Short History* of King *Charles* I. from his Cradle to his Grave, 1658.

Thirteen Sermons; some of which are an Exposition of the *Parable* of the *Tares*, *London*, 1659. Reprinted 1661.

The *History of the Reformation*. *London*, 1661. Fol.

Cyprianus Anglicus; or the *History* of the Life and Death of Arch-Bishop *Laud*. Folio. *London*, 1668.

Aërius Redivivus, or the *History* of the *Presbyterians*, from the year 1636, to the year 1647. *Oxon*. 1670. Fol.

His Monument has, since the erection of it, had violence offered it by some rude and irreligious hand; there being ever in the world those ill men, who regard the Names of the Learned, neither whilst they are living, nor

when they are dead. It is erected on the *North-side* of the Abbey in *Westminster*, over against the *Sub-Deans* Seat; and the Right Reverend Dr. *Earl*, then Dean of *Westminster*, and afterward Bishop of *Salisbury*, was pleased to honor the memory of his dear Friend with this following Inscription.

Depositum mortale
Petri Heylyn S. Th. D.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Prebendarii & Subdecani,
Viri planè memorabilis,
Egregiis dotibus instructissimi,
Ingenio acri & fœcundo,
Judicio subacto,
Memoriâ ad prodigium tenaci;
Cui adjunxit incredibilem in Studiis patientiam;
Quæ, cessantibus oculis, non cessarunt.
Scripsit varia & plurima,
Quæ jam manibus teruntur;
Et argumentis non vulgaribus
Stylo non vulgari suffecit.

Con,

Constans ubique Ecclesiæ,
Et Majestatis Regiæ Assertor;
Nec florentis magis utriusque
Quam afflictæ:
Idemque perduellium & Schismaticæ
Factionis
Impugnator acerrimus.
Contemptor Invidiæ,
Et animo infracto.
Plura ejusmodi meditanti,
Mors indixit Silentium;
Ut sileatur
Efficere non potest.

Obiit Anno Ætat. 63.

Posuit hoc illi mæstissima Conjux.

FINIS.